THE POLITICS OF POVERTY
February 13, 1964 35¢
Ted Sorensen of Nebraska

THE REPORTER

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

5 directions to follow for wise investing

You may want to own stock with the aim of building a second income. Or to give your money a chance to increase as the years fly by. Whatever your goal, here are 5 directions to help you stay on the track:

First, give careful thought to the broker you choose. At a Member Firm of the New York Stock Exchange you'll have the help of a broker who, when he was registered by the Exchange, had to meet Exchange standards. Though Member Firms may differ in many ways, they're all subject to the Exchange's rules and regulations.

You'll be wise to be candid with him about your resources and ambitions. For the investing route you take depends upon where you hope to go. And you're more likely to get there when your investments snugly fit your goals. His knowledge and training can help you with your decisions—but don't expect to find a crystal ball on his desk.

Second, weigh the risk against the reward. It's true that some companies are far larger today than they were only 25 years ago and that their shareowners have benefited—sometimes handsomely—from their growth. But other companies have found the going rougher, perhaps making no profit, paying no dividends. Keep in mind, too, that stock prices, like other prices, fluctuate for many reasons.

Third, consult your pocketbook. Are your living expenses amply cared for? Have you made proper provision for emergencies? Do you still have funds left over? Then you may be ready to consider making some of your dollars work as hard for you as you worked for them—through investment in good stock.

Fourth, always distinguish between a fact and a rumor. When tips and rumors have no basis in fact, they can cost you dearly. So arm yourself with facts. Ask your Member Firm broker to help you check earnings and dividend records, sales trends and other important information. And inquire about the relative safety and stability of bonds.

Fifth, present yourself with "DIVIDENDS OVER THE YEARS." The coupon will bring you, free, this fact-filled guide to common stock investing. You'll find more than 500 stocks that have paid cash dividends each year for 25 years or more. It also tells about the Monthly Investment Plan through which you can start acquiring stock by investing with as little as $40 every three months ($3.08 a week). Send the coupon today.

Own your share of American business

Members New York Stock Exchange

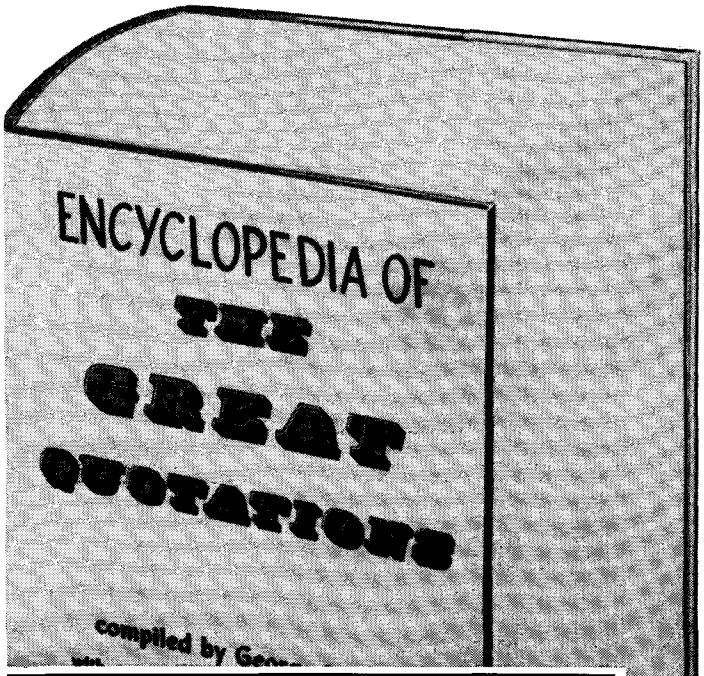
SEND FOR FREE BOOKLET. Mail to a Member Firm of the New York Stock Exchange, or to the New York Stock Exchange, Dept. 4-E, P.O. Box 1070, N.Y., N.Y. 10001.

Please send me, free, "DIVIDENDS OVER THE YEARS, a basic guide for common stock investment."

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



FOR EXAMPLE:

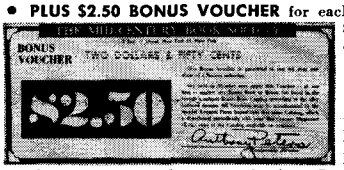
☐ **900. Seldes' Encyclopedia of GREAT QUOTATIONS.** Intro. by J. Donald Adams. Here for the first time—finally free of the tampering and censorship that have warped so many collections of quotations merely because they are controversial—is a compendium of the *truly great* utterances of all time. Sans cliches, hoary hand-me-downs and other dross, this great encyclopedia presents thousands and thousands of unbowdlerized quotations by the men and women who have had major impact on world thinking and events—*whether for better or worse*. [Comprehensively indexed, 10,000 authors and subjects listings.]

PUBLISHER'S RETAIL PRICE $15

ANY 3 BOOKS FREE

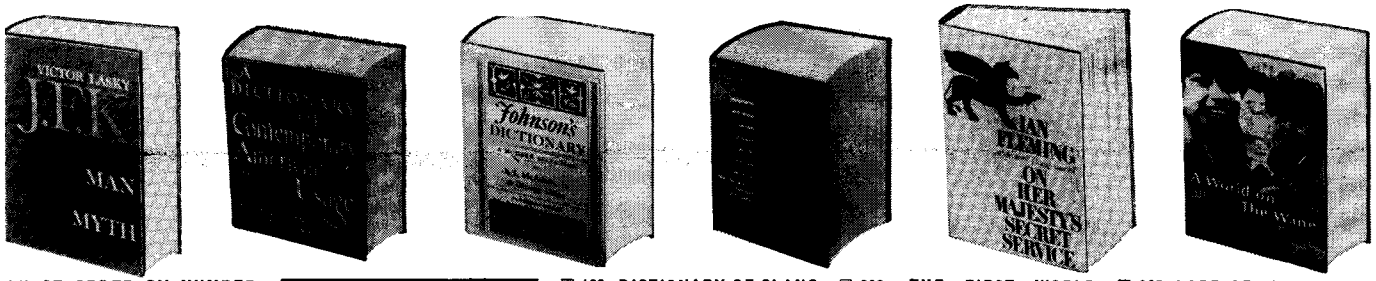
As a special introductory offer we will give you—

- **ANY 3 BOOKS FREE**—even if one of your 3 choices is this great encyclopedia!
- **PLUS 1 OR MORE OTHER BOOKS** for a special new-member price—only $2.95 each *regardless of regular retail prices up to $10 and more!*
- **PLUS $2.50 BONUS VOUCHER** for each and every book you buy later. These



$2.50 *Bonus Vouchers*—which may be applied immediately, at any time, toward other books of your choice—are given *in addition* to massive *outright discounts* on books offered by The Mid-Century Book Society, which has been called "America's most rewarding book club." You receive at least one $2.50 Voucher for each purchase—even on the many books offered to members in the low $3 to $5 range. Other books often earn *more* than one voucher.

- **SAVE UP TO 90% NOW.** New readers may thus save up to 90% *now*—by joining the Society *at this time*. While you need take only one book at the introductory *extra-discount price*, the more you take the more you save.
- **CANCELLATION.** *Either*—return all these books after 2 weeks' free examination, without cost or obligation. *Or*—take only two more books during the coming year out of hundreds to be offered.
- **THE MID-CENTURY MAGAZINE FREE,** bringing you advance reviews of new books published each month—with informed recommendations of books to both read *& keep* [no fall-apart paperbacks] in every subject-category—books for pleasure, profit, reference . . . for the many interests, needs and appetites of America's "New Renaissance" readers . . . the best *novels, non-fiction, reference works, biographies, art books, histories*—and many more.
- **PROFIT SHARING:** Because the Society can order books in large quantities, it shares profits with members through sensationally *lower prices* plus the *Bonus Book Vouchers*. Members can thus buy first-run books—in publishers' regular cloth-bound editions for their permanent libraries [not cardboard-bound "cheapies"]—for less than throw-away paperbacks cost!
- **BECAUSE** many of the books offered in this announcement are in short supply, **fulfillment of this offer can only be guaranteed for 30 days.** ***Please, therefore, enter all your choices by number on the Request Form—and mail without delay.***



LEASE ORDER BY NUMBER

] 257. **DOROTHY AND RED** by incent Sheean. ". . . the frankest velation of a marriage ever published." Here is a love story, told rgely in their own intimate letrs, which is also something of a ystery story, a tragedy and a medy—a multi-drama in which nclair Lewis and Dorothy Thompn play themselves. **Retail $6.95.**

] 238. **A DICTIONARY OF CONEMPORARY AMERICAN SAGE** by Bergen & Cornelia vans. Complete, up-to-date diconary of usage . . . style, punctuation, idioms, etc. **Retail $6.95.**

149. **A WORLD ON THE ANE.** Perhaps the most rearkable work ever published on a xually-uninhibited primitive culre. Includes 116 revealing photoaphs and drawings. **Retail 2.50.**

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORDS

☐ **53. ORIGINS by Eric Partridge.** The most comprehensive encyclopedia-dictionary in 53 years of words and their origins. 12,000 alphabetized sections [including definitions and foreign equivalents] in 1,300,000 words; 970 pages. **Retail $16.00.**

] 192. **THE "JOSEPH" TERALOGY.** 4 complete novels oof hos Mann. **Retail $8.50.**

125R. **GREAT RUSSIAN HORT NOVELS** ed. by P. Rahv. et. $7.50.

THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO and THE CONQUEST OF PERU

☐ **916. William H. Prescott's** immortal histories of Cortes and Pizarro in a **complete and unabridged one volume** edition. This story of the small bands of **conquistadores** in Mexico and Peru is one of the most dramatic narratives of all time. 1288 pp., fully indexed. **Retail $12.50.**

☐ **223. MEMOIRS OF HADRIAN by Yourcenar. Illus. Retail $7.00.**

☐ **252. J. F. K. by Victor Lasky. Retail $7.95.**

☐ **132. DICTIONARY OF SLANG & UNCONVENTIONAL ENGLISH by Eric Partridge.** Defines the "secret" words not in regular dictionaries, including argot, cant and four-letter words. The new revised and enlarged 5th edition—**1,376 pp. 50,000 definitions totaling 1,400,000 words. 9½ x 7 x 2½ inches. Retail $16.**

☐ **800. ON HER MAJESTY'S SECRET SERVICE by Ian Fleming. Ret. $4.50.**

☐ **915. THE LAST OF THE INCAS by Hyams & Ordish. Illus. Retail $6.00.**

☐ **234. THE ODES OF HORACE translated by J. Michie with original Latin. Retail $6.00.**

☐ **998. THE FIRST WORLD WAR. A PHOTO HISTORY by L. Stallings. Retail $7.50.**

☐ **908. THE DOUGHBOYS: The Story of The AEF [1917-18] by L. Stallings. 102 B & W & 134 full-color illus. Retail $7.95.**

☐ **242. THE POOH PERPLEX by F. C. Crews and THE ELEPHANT by S. Mrozek:** [2-bk. set; counts as 1 bk.] **Both illus. Comb. Ret. $6.90.**

☐ **255. THE THREE SIRENS by Irving Wallace. Retail $5.95.**

☐ **106. THE DELIGHTS OF DETECTION ed. by J. Barzan. Retail $5.95.**

☐ **965. LORD OF THE FLIES by W. Golding and THE PETTY DEMON by F. Sologub.** [2-book set; counts as 1 bk.] **Comb. Ret. $9.95.**

☐ **161. THE DECLINE OF THE WEST by Spengler. Retail $6.95.**

☐ **125F. GREAT FRENCH SHORT NOVELS ed. by F. Dupee. Retail $7.50.**

☐ **162. CAUTIONARY VERSES by Hilaire Belloc. Retail $6.00.**

☐ **993. JOHNSON'S DICTIONARY:** A Modern Selection from the most famous and most wickedly personal dictionary of all time. A delight to read and browse. **Retail $6.50.**

SEND NO MONEY

REQUEST FORM

R-50

Mail to: The Mid-Century Book Society, 115 East 31st Street, N. Y. 16, N. Y.

Enroll me as a trial member and send me the 3 FREE books indicated below—charging me only for the one or more other books ordered at the special new-member price of only $2.95 each.

My only obligation is to buy two future selections during the coming year from the 100 or more to be offered at average savings of 50% under the publishers' retail prices. Over and above outright Discounts, I am to receive at least one $2.50 Bonus Book Voucher with each book purchased.

[PLEASE INDICATE YOUR CHOICES BELOW BY NUMBER.]

I. SEND THE FOLLOWING SELECTIONS FREE —with New-Member Purchase(s) at the right				II. SEND THE FOLLOWING SELECTION(S) AT SPECIAL NEW-MEMBER'S PRICE [$2.95]

Name .....

Address .....City.....Zone.....State.....

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fumiko

✻ Like every daughter of her household since antiquity, Fumiko Nakamura has been brought up in the highest traditions of Japanese etiquette. In the kimono of a Japan Air Lines hostess, Fumiko has the flower-like grace of a classic wood-block print; yet she serves your favorite beverages and cuisine and attends your every wish with a precise awareness of your Western tastes. It is this delightful duality of Fumiko and her sister hostesses that gives the serenity of a Japanese home to your Jet Courier flight. Add the enchanting "extra" of flying Japan Air Lines to your next trip to Japan, the Orient, or on around the world to Europe. It is a travel experience unique in all the world.

JAPAN AIR LINES

See your travel agent for jet reservations from San Francisco, Los Angeles and Honolulu to Japan, the Orient, and around the world to Europe.

THE REPORTER

THE MAGAZINE OF FACTS AND IDEAS

MAX ASCOLI, *Editor and Publisher*

Co-Editor, Dwight Martin
Executive Editor, Philip Horton *Managing Editor*, Robert Bingham
Senior Editor, Gouverneur Paulding *National Affairs Editor*, Douglass Cater
Art Director, Reg Massie *Copy Editor*, Donald A. Allan
Writers: Claire Sterling, Edmond Taylor, Meg Greenfield, George Bailey, Barbara Carter
Staff: Elizabeth Parsons (*Asst. to the Editor*), Louisa Messolonghites (*Asst. to Mng. Ed.*), Ruth Ames (*Librarian*), John A. Anderson, Jr., Lee Culpepper, Virginia Held, Nora Magid

General Manager, John J. Borghi
Circulation Manager, George Hinckley *Director of Advertising*, E. Laurence White, Jr.
Director of Promotion, Shirley Katzander *Production Manager*, Rudolph Ford
Controller, Anthony E. Lanza
Published by The Reporter Magazine Company, Nathan W. Levin, President

VOLUME 30, NO. 4 **FEBRUARY 13, 1964**

THE REPORTER'S NOTES 12

Mr. Johnson's 'Unconditional War'

THE POLITICS OF POVERTY . . . . . *Douglass Cater* 16
WEST VIRGINIA: THE FIRST FRONT . . . . . *William Francois* 21
DRAFT REJECTEES: NIPPING TROUBLE IN THE BUD . . . . . *Daniel Patrick Moynihan* 22

At Home & Abroad

TED SORENSEN OF NEBRASKA . . . . . *William Lee Miller* 24
THE ITALIAN TIGHTROPE ACT . . . . . *Claire Sterling* 30
WILLY BRANDT'S THIRD GERMANY . . . . . *George Bailey* 33
COMMUNIST CHINA'S 'OPENING TO THE WEST' . . . . . *Charles Ferdinand Nothomb* 36
LABOUR'S 'SHADOW' DIPLOMACY . . . . . *Gordon Brook-Shepherd* 37

Views & Reviews

THE ARTIFACTS OF ADULATION . . . . . *Alan Levy* 40
HOW TO GET A RED HAT . . . . . *Andrew M. Greeley* 44
COURTING CUSTOMS IN THE WORKERS' PARADISE . . . . . *John Kosa* 46
FIRST LOVE (DRAWING) . . . . . *Fernando Krahn* 47
Books:
THE LIBERAL AS OPTIMIST . . . . . *Kenneth S. Lynn* 48
NOT WRIT IN WATER . . . . . *M. L. Rosenthal* 52
A HUNGRY MAN . . . . . *Jay Jacobs* 54
THE REPORTER PUZZLE 51

THE REPORTER, February 13, 1964, Volume 30, No. 4. Second-class postage paid at New York, New York, and at Dayton, Ohio. Published every other Thursday except for omission of two summer issues by The Reporter Magazine Company, 660 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10021.

© 1964 by The Reporter Magazine Company. All rights reserved under Pan-American Copyright Convention.

Subscription prices, United States and U. S. Possessions: One year $7, Two years $11, Three years $14. Additional postage for Canada and Pan-American Union, $.50 per year; all other countries, $1.00 per year. Please give four weeks' notice when changing address, giving old and new address. **Send notice of undelivered copies on Form 3579 to: The Reporter, McCall St., Dayton, Ohio 45401.** Indexed in *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* and *Public Affairs Information Service*.

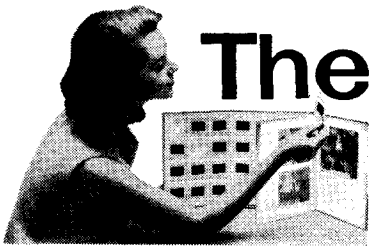
Manuscripts or artwork submitted to The Reporter should be accompanied by addressed envelope and return postage. The publisher assumes no responsibility for the return of unsolicited manuscripts or artwork.

Editorial and Business Office: 660 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10021; Phone: TEmpleton 2-8800. Washington Office: 500 - National Press Bldg., 14th and F Sts., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004, District 7-0045.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ANNOUNCING an exciting innovation in guided art enjoyment which enables you to look at priceless museum paintings in your home...in the **FULL SIZE AND BEAUTY OF THE ORIGINALS.** Now, using superb new color slides that project pictures up to **TEN FEET ACROSS,** you and your family can view the world's art masterpieces as they were meant to be seen and appreciated.

You are invited to accept a Charter Subscription—at surprisingly low cost—to



The Color Slide Program of Art Enjoyment

and to receive your first Color Slide Presentation "Impressionist Paintings" for free trial

HAVE YOU ever wondered why people who are otherwise well-informed often fail to develop a real understanding and enthusiasm for the world's great art treasures? Perhaps it is because a genuine appreciation of art has always had one limiting factor: the great amount of time and expense required to seek out famous paintings in collections all over the world and to view these masterpieces in the true colors and full size of the originals.

If, due to this natural limitation, you and your family have had to rely upon small, scaled-down reproductions for your acquaintance with famous paintings—with perhaps an occasional hurried visit to a museum—think what it would mean to view these cherished works in your own home *in the exact size of the originals.* For example, even a small Van Eyck panel may measure almost two feet across; Monet's "Women in the Garden" is fully 8 feet high, and just a single detail from a fresco by Michelangelo reaches 10 feet in height. *Imagine seeing such pictures without loss of size or color fidelity right from your living room chair!*

This extraordinary experience can now be yours—through a series of remarkable color slides offered to members of the new McGraw-Hill Color Slide Program of Art Enjoyment. There has never been anything like it for people who want to enhance their understanding and enjoyment of great art.

Your first set of color slides:
24 great Impressionist Paintings

If you accept our free demonstration offer, you will receive 24 color slides of magnificent Impressionist Paintings packaged in a unique and exciting album. The beautiful double-hinged covers open up wide to reveal your 24 slides neatly and visibly filed for easy selection. Bound into the center of this elaborate album is a complete art book with a guide to each of the slide pictures, as well as an authoritative, illustrated survey of the whole wonderful era of Impressionist Painting by Albert Châtelet, Director of France's renowned Lille Museum.

With your family or a few appreciative friends, you will enjoy a private showing of an extraordinary collection of canvases. You will gaze in astonishment as the full splendor of Manet's daring "Luncheon on the Grass" appears on your own wall in its entire *nine-foot length,* just as you would see it at the Louvre. You will bask in the warm colors of Renoir's "Seated Bather", fully *four feet high.* You will thrill to world-renowned paintings by Degas, Cassatt, Pissarro, Monet and others—each in the full size of the original—each unbelievably true in color, brush stroke and detail.

An art collection in a few inches of space

If you decide to keep your first Color Slide Album, and to subscribe to the remainder of the series which will be issued at two month intervals, you can look forward to a succession of rare riches indeed. Scheduled soon is the *Color Slide Album of Dutch Paintings,* among whose many glories you will find Rembrandt's celebrated "Aristotle Contemplating the Bust of Homer;" and the *Color Slide Album of Italian Paintings,* with famous works by Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and others. More albums are planned, covering the leading periods of painting. You will be free to take only those albums you wish.

Specialists in fine art photography travelled the world over to obtain these 35mm (2 x 2) color slides. They set a new standard of brilliance, depth and faithfulness to the original—revealing each painting as no printed reproduction can do. They are capable of almost limitless enlargement and can be used in any home slide projector. If you do not own a projector, you may obtain one at a very low cost as a subscriber. See special offer.

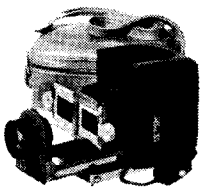
The least you might expect to pay for a set of 24 slides of comparable quality—if the subjects were available at your favorite museum of art—is $15.00 to $18.00. Yet as a subscriber to this new Program, you pay only $7.95 for each album of 24 slides including a handsomely illustrated art book with commentary by outstanding authorities. (The slide-and-commentary method of instruction is itself widely used in leading museums and universities.)

Try your first Color Slide Album 10 days free

Send no money now; we will ship your *Color Slide Album of Impressionist Paintings,* complete with a handy slide previewer, and enroll you as a trial subscriber. If you are thrilled with the trial and want to continue with the Program, send the special subscriber's price of only $7.95, plus a few cents shipping cost, as payment for your first album. (The regular non-subscription price is $8.95.) Thereafter you will be offered a new Album every two months at the same low price. If not delighted, however, you may return everything within 10 days; your subscription will be cancelled, without further obligation. Mail coupon to Color Slide Program of Art Enjoyment, Dept. RP-264, 330 W. 42 St., New York, N. Y. 10036

IF YOU DO NOT HAVE A PROJECTOR:

Here's an unusual opportunity. We have obtained a limited supply of the sensational new Minolta Mini 35, with Rokkor F2.5 wide angle projection lens. This top-rated portable slide projector shows all 35mm slides. List price $37.50 — subscribers' price only $14.95 (including carrying case). Because of the limited supply, orders will be filled as received, and remittance must accompany form below. Full refund if returned in 10 days.



McGraw-Hill Color Slide Program of Art Enjoyment, Dept. RP-264
330 West 42 St., New York, N. Y. 10036

Please enter my trial subscription and send me the *Color Slide Album of Impressionist Paintings* (including 24 color slides and illustrated 48-page art book). Bill me at the special Charter Subscriber's price of only $7.95, plus a few cents shipping. You will send me a new Color Slide Presentation Album every two months, at the same low price. I am not obligated to take any minimum number, and I may stop whenever I wish.

If I am not delighted with my first shipment, I may return everything within 10 days and you will cancel my subscription.

Name.....

Address.....

City & Zone.....State.....

☐ Check here if you prefer to send $7.95 now, in which case we will pay shipping. Same 10-day return privilege, refund guaranteed.

☐ Check here if you wish the Minolta Mini 35 Projector included: remit $14.95 with this coupon for projector. Money refunded if not delighted.

1 *Offer good in U.S.A. only* RP-264

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FRESCOBALDI
Italy's Proudest Chianti

Sole U. S. Distributors: Fontana Hollywood Corp., N.Y.C.

1964 WARNING
from The
Wall Street Journal

During the next three months, you will need to keep up to the minute on news affecting your future and the future of your business.

Because the reports in The Wall Street Journal come to you DAILY, you get the fastest possible warning of any new trend that may affect your business and personal income. You get the facts in time to protect your interests or to seize quickly a new profit-making opportunity.

To assure speedy delivery to you anywhere in the United States, The Journal is printed daily in seven cities from coast to coast. You are promptly and reliably informed on every major new development regarding Prices, Taxes, Consumer Buying, Government Spending, Inventories, Financing, Production Trends, Commodities, Securities, Marketing and New Legislation.

The Wall Street Journal has the largest staff of writers on business and finance. It costs $24 a year, but in order to acquaint you with The Journal, we make this offer: You can get a Trial Subscription for three months for $7. Just send this ad with check for $7. Or tell us to bill you. Address: The Wall Street Journal, 44 Broad St., New York 4, N. Y. RM2-13

WHO— WHAT— WHY—

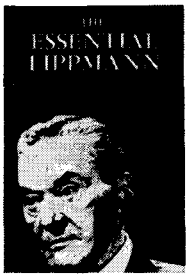
YOU CAN DRIVE from coast to coast on our broad highways past row on row of neat suburban houses, factory parking lots filled with workers' new cars, and bright city sidewalks crowded with well-dressed shoppers —without ever seeing any poor people. But they are there, hidden behind brick tenement walls or in shacks down rural roads most of us never travel. In the midst of prosperity, the poor have become all but invisible. President Johnson has declared "unconditional war" on the blundering savage forces that keep millions of Americans—some newly desperate, some at last hopeless—from sharing, even on a minimal level of subsistence, in the immense wealth of this land. Mr. Johnson's battle plans, as **Douglass Cater** points out, involve politics as well as economics; our National Affairs Editor's next book, *Power in Washington,* will be published in March by Random House. . . . An on-the-scene report of conditions in one of our worst "pockets of poverty" is provided by **William Francois,** assistant professor of journalism at Marshall University in Huntington, West Virginia. . . . The President's new plan to help some of our young people before they get caught in the cycle of economic failure is described by one who has been very much involved in the planning, Assistant Secretary of Labor **Daniel Patrick Moynihan.** Mr. Moynihan is co-author with Nathan Glazer of *Beyond the Melting Pot* (M.I.T. Press and Harvard University Press), which has been nominated for a National Book Award.

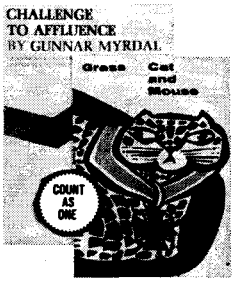
THE POLITICS of the man who was called President Kennedy's alter ego had its roots in the Norris-style progressive atmosphere of Theodore C. Sorensen's boyhood in Lincoln, Nebraska, a time and place **William Lee Miller** knows well. He was a friend of the Sorensens and a college companion of the future Presidential assistant. Dr. Miller is an associate professor at the Divinity School of Yale. . . . Our Mediterranean correspondent, **Claire Sterling,** updates her reporting on the opening to the Left in the Italian government. . . . In West Germany, Socialism's hopes are pinned on Mayor Willy Brandt of West Berlin, who sometimes seems to be dictating foreign policy both to Bonn and to the allied commandants and who, staff correspondent **George Bailey** writes, is campaigning to be bürgermeister of the whole Reich. . . . **Charles Ferdinand Nothomb,** a lecturer at the Catholic University of Louvain and a former Belgian civil servant, visited China last summer. . . . **Gordon Brook-Shepherd,** who is diplomatic correspondent of the London *Sunday Telegraph,* reports on the efforts of Britain's Labour Party to prepare a foreign policy for the day this spring when it expects to assume the powers of government.

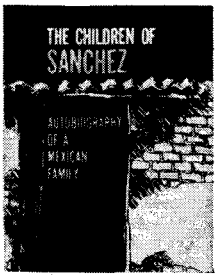
Alan Levy, a free-lance writer, declares, "I'm quite willing to license dolls, toys, stuffed pets, and frozen Chinese dinners to tie in with my book, *Kind Hearted Tiger,*" a nonfiction Asian story, scheduled for April publication by Little, Brown. . . . **The Rev. Andrew M. Greeley,** a Roman Catholic priest, failed to be impressed by the film entitled *The Cardinal.* Father Greeley, senior study director of the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, is the author of *Religion and Career: A Study of College Graduates* (Sheed & Ward). . . . **John Kosa,** a social psychologist who teaches in the School of Public Health at the University of North Carolina, is the author of *Two Generations of Soviet Man* (North Carolina Press). His article, plus **Fernando Krahn's** drawing, constitutes our acknowledgment of St. Valentine's Day. . . . **Kenneth S. Lynn,** professor of English at Harvard, is spending the current academic year as visiting professor at the University of Madrid. . . . *Blue Boy on Skates,* a collection of **M. L. Rosenthal's** poetry, will be published by the Oxford University Press in April. He teaches at New York University. . . . **Jay Jacobs,** a frequent contributor, is an artist as well as a writer.

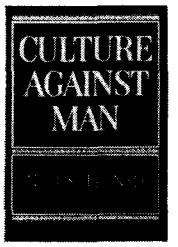
Our cover is by **Fred Zimmer.**

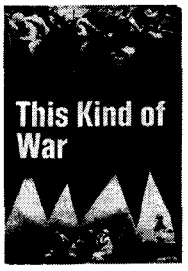
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

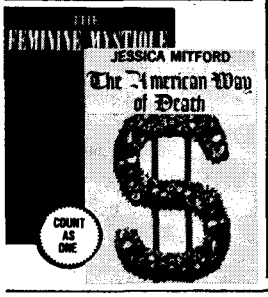


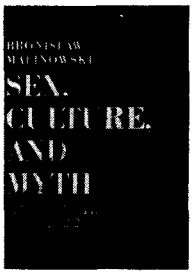


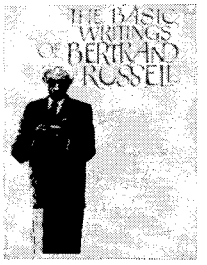


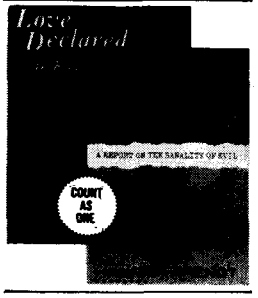






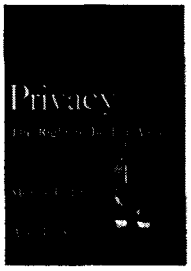


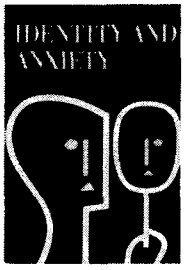


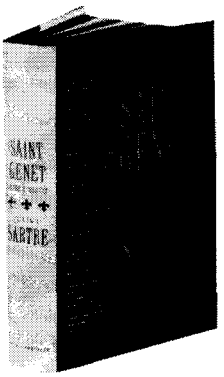


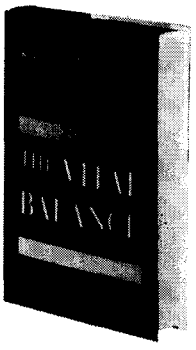
ANY 3 BOOKS FREE

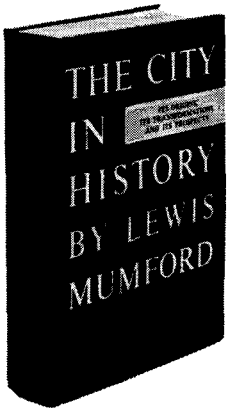
WITH YOUR FIRST SELECTION / **RETAIL VALUES TO $42.85**

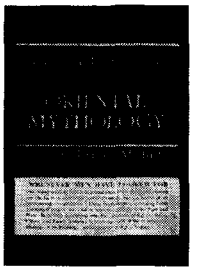












SELECTIONS MAKE THE DIFFERENCE – Here are some of the selections that the Book Find Club has offered its members at substantial savings. The selections of the Book Find Club are different. You will recognize them as works of current interest and lasting value – solid, readable books that range from social science to the fine arts. These are only a few from the outstanding list of more than 100 books and records that the Book Find Club will make available to you as a member if you join now. As an introductory offer, to acquaint you with the benefits of membership, we invite you to choose any three of the selections pictured above **free** with your first selection. Since several are dual selections*, you may acquire as many as **7** books in this way. ■ **CONVENIENCE.** Membership in the Book Find Club makes it possible for you to shop for the books you want in the comfort of your own home – enabling you to build your library conveniently and inexpensively. Each month you will receive The Book Find News, containing an authoritative review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of the many other books available at special member's prices. You need choose **only** the books you want. ■ **AVERAGE SAVINGS OF 40%.** As a member you will regularly enjoy savings of 40% on the books you take. Furthermore, on certain choices your savings will reach and even exceed 50%. Compare the prices of the books shown here. Your savings on this introductory offer alone can amount to **as much as $42.85** ■ **BONUS BOOKS.** When your introductory agreement has been completed, you will be entitled to a free bonus book of your own choosing after every third selection that you take.

Saint Genet: *Actor and Martyr*, Jean-Paul Sartre. Retail $8.50. Member's price $5.95
The Vital Balance: *The Life Process in Mental Health and Illness.* Karl Menninger. Retail $10.00. ..... Member's price $6.95
***Cat and Mouse,** Günter Grass; *and* **Challenge to Affluence,** Gunnar Myrdal. Combined retail price $7.90. ..... Member's price $5.95
***The American Way of Death,** Jessica Mitford; *and* **The Feminine Mystique,** Betty Friedan. Combined retail price $10.90 ..... Member's price $8.90
This Kind of War, T. R. Fehrenbach. *The Brutal Lesson of Korea.* Retail $10.00. ..... Member's price $6.50
***Eichmann in Jerusalem:** *A Report on the Banality of Evil*, Hannah Arendt; *and* **Love Declared:** *Essays on the Myths of Love*, Denis de Rougemont. Combined retail price $10.00. .....Member's price (for both books) $5.95
The City in History, Lewis Mumford .....Retail $11.50. Member's price $6.95
Memories, Dreams, Reflections, C. G. Jung. ...Retail $7.50. Member's price $5.95
The Tin Drum, Günter Grass. .....Retail $6.95. Member's price $5.75
The Essential Walter Lippmann: *A Political Philosophy for Liberal Democracy.* Editors: Clinton Rossiter & James Lare .....Retail $7.50. Member's price $5.50
Culture Against Man, Jules Henry. Retail $7.95. ..... Member's price $5.50
Sex, Culture and Myth, Bronislaw Malinowski. Retail $6.95. Member's price $5.50
The Children of Sanchez, Oscar Lewis .....Retail $7.50. Member's price $5.50
The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell .....Retail $10.00. Member's price $5.95
Identity and Anxiety: *Survival of the Person in Mass Society.* A massive compendium of studies by Mead, May, Orwell, Rosenberg, Richards, Gorer, Howe, Jaspers, Mills, and more. .....*Retail $7.50.* Member's price $4.95
Privacy: *The Right to Be Let Alone*, Morris L. Ernst and Alan U. Schwartz. Retail $6.00. ..... Member's price $4.50
The Masks of God: *Oriental Mythology*, Joseph Campbell. Retail $7.50. ..... Member's price $5.50

***TWO BOOKS COUNTING AS ONE SELECTION**

THE BOOK FIND CLUB, Inc.

215 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10003

You may enroll and send me the 3 free books of my choice, with my first selection at the special member's price (plus postage and handling). I agree to buy four additional selections or alternates from the wide range of books that will be made available to me in the coming year at substantial savings. When I do not want the current selection – or prefer to order another book – I may do so on the convenient form provided for this purpose. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the four additional books.

First Selection _____

Free Books 1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss .....
Please print full name

Address .....

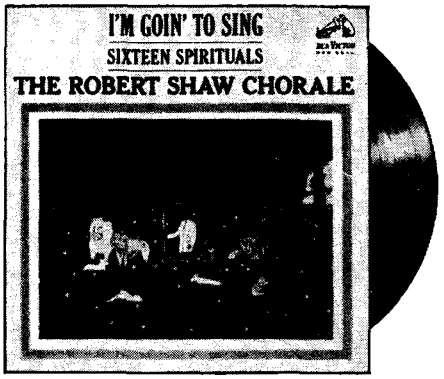
City ..... State ..... Zip Code B64-28

(Same offer & prices apply in Canada: 105 Bond St., Toronto 2, Ont.)

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American spirituals: deceptively simple, humbly great

Spirituals communicate their message in the simplest way possible. Therein lies their greatness. Listen to a new collection of 16 favorite spirituals by the Robert Shaw Chorale. Hear the majestic dignity of "Go Down Moses," the plaintive "Poor Mourner," the exuberant "I Got Shoes." Is it any wonder spirituals and the Robert Shaw Chorale have such universal appeal?



RCA VICTOR
THE MOST TRUSTED NAME IN SOUND

CORRESPONDENCE

FOREIGN AID

To the Editor: In "The Foreign Aid Fiasco" (*The Reporter*, January 16), Paul Duke largely omits mention of the specific deficiencies in the aid program itself that brought about the cut in its budget. Fortunately, I find that other articles in the same issue remedy the omission somewhat. For example, in "The Land-Grabbers of Cali" I read: "The Alliance for Progress is for the rich. . . . It has not touched the poor." And in "Iran: Remolding a Nation Nearer to the Heart's Desire," I read: ". . . while the ruling clique is inordinately wealthy and growing more so, the massive U.S. aid going into Iran has done almost nothing to change the lot of the seventy-five per cent of the people who live in remote villages and small towns."

Had Mr. Duke sought to get at the basis for Congressional dissatisfaction with foreign aid, he had many of the reasons in these articles. He might have pointed out, as we did, that as much local capital has left Latin America as the United States has put in since the Alliance began, because the wealthy classes there are not willing to invest in the future of their own countries.

The argument offered up for the huge and useless aid program in Iran is so thin that neither Congress nor the American people will accept it much longer for any aid program anywhere. We know that CENTO is defunct, and that Iran is protected from Soviet aggression not by those Sabrejets flown by Iranian pilots but by that $47.3-billion defense budget which Mr. Duke says passed the Senate with only a few minutes' debate. All the sentiment about curing children of yaws and old folks of malaria with foreign aid funds no longer disguises the fact that the great bulk of our foreign aid is making the rich richer and the poor poorer in most underdeveloped lands, and that most of it is being spent to keep factions in power that we think will give a short-term advantage to the United States. It is my conviction that not only will these factions be increasingly costly to maintain, but eventually they will disappear despite our expenditure on them.

The "foreign aid fiasco" is in the program, not in Congress. The reasons for it are still waiting to be told.

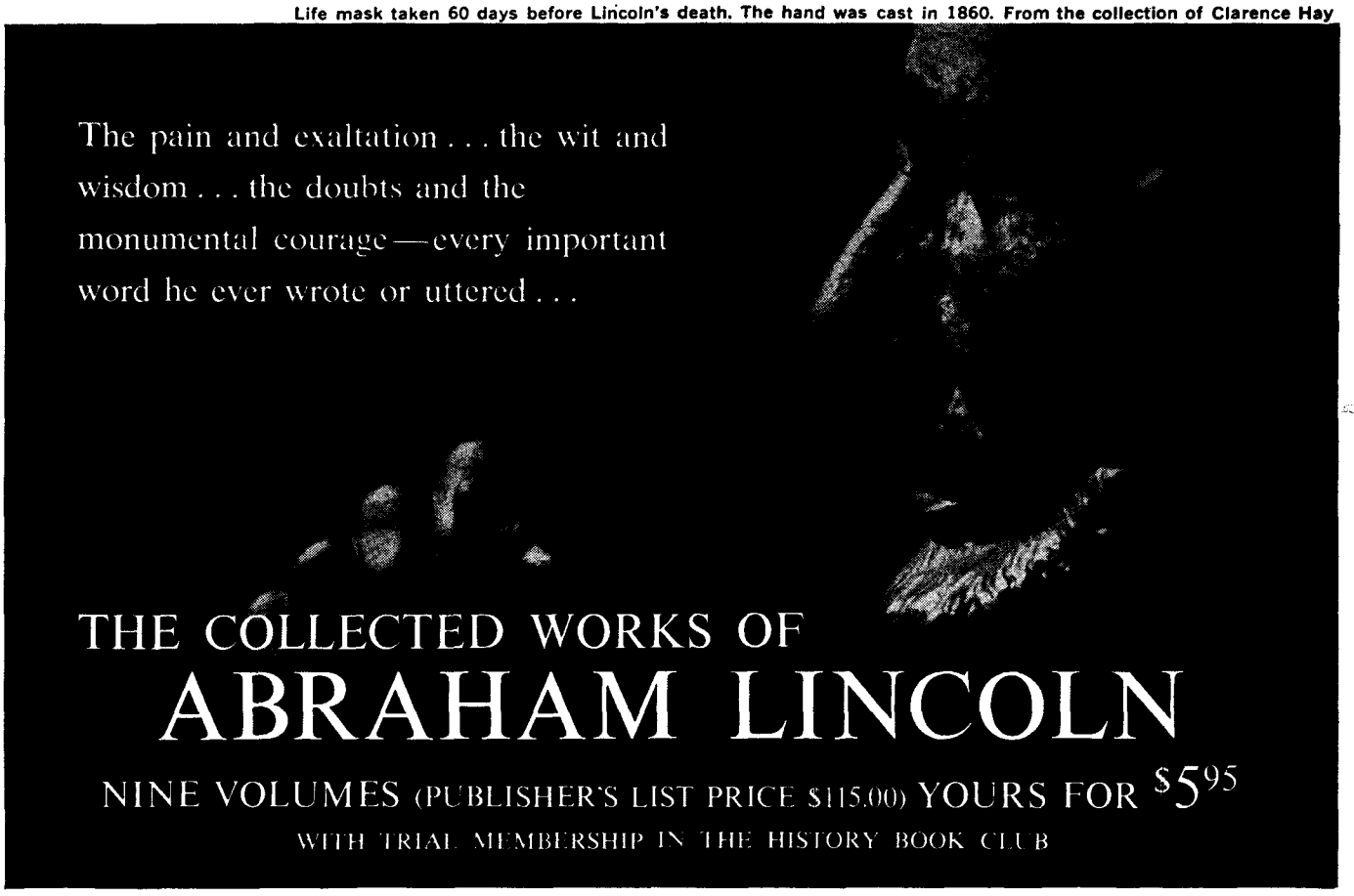
WAYNE MORSE
U.S. Senate

THE AMBLER CASE

To the Editor: In your issue dated October 24, 1963, an article by Alan Levy appeared entitled "The Would-Be Writer Industry." It was a discussion of correspondence schools of writing and bogus writers' conferences set up to profit from the gullibility of would-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Life mask taken 60 days before Lincoln's death. The hand was cast in 1860. From the collection of Clarence Hay


The pain and exaltation . . . the wit and wisdom . . . the doubts and the monumental courage—every important word he ever wrote or uttered . . .
THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
ABRAHAM LINCOLN
NINE VOLUMES (PUBLISHER'S LIST PRICE $115.00) YOURS FOR $5.95
WITH TRIAL MEMBERSHIP IN THE HISTORY BOOK CLUB

ONLY OFFERING THIS YEAR—in observance of LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY

TODAY nearly a century of legend tends to blur our image of Lincoln, the *man*. This human Lincoln—who was not born to greatness but *grew* to it in times as troubled as our own—now speaks to us clearly in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*.

In these nine volumes—the most complete collection of his writings and utterances ever published—we meet the *real* Lincoln. We witness the drama of his growth in 6,870 private as well as public papers—half of them never printed before. We discover the inner reservoirs of strength that enabled him to transcend the mounting crises of his life.

This extraordinary human testament has been collected, indexed and richly annotated by a team of our foremost Lincoln scholars, headed by Dr. Roy P. Basler of The Library of Congress. The product of 26 years of research, the set carries a Publisher's List Price of $115. But now, in observance of Lincoln's Birthday, we are pleased to offer it at just *5% of its retail value*, with trial membership in The History Book Club.

A service for readers who value their links with the eternal human drama, The History Book Club offers fine permanent editions of the most important and readable works of history and world affairs—at average savings (with bonuses) of 40%, and often more. By joining now, you receive the 9-volume Lincoln set for $5.95—*with* your choice of a first selection from the titles listed below at money-saving Member's Prices. (First price is Publisher's List; **boldface** shows Member's Price.)

368. TASTE OF COURAGE, ed. by Flower & Reeves. World War II, as seen and felt by those who endured it. 1136 pp. $10.00/**$7.50**

101. HISTORY OF THE GERMAN GENERAL STAFF, by Walter Goerlitz. Story of the feared war machine, 1657 to 1945. $7.50/**$5.95**

263. GODS AND MEN, by Henry Bamford Parkes. Ancient myths and ideals that have shaped our way of life. $7.50/**$5.95**

371. CIVIL WAR DICTIONARY, by *M. M. Boatner III.* *Over 4000 entries* —battles, persons, events, issues, etc. $15.00/**$8.95**

128. HISTORY OF FRANCE, by Andre Maurois. Perigord cave-painters to 5th Republic—a sweeping panorama. $8.50/**$6.95**

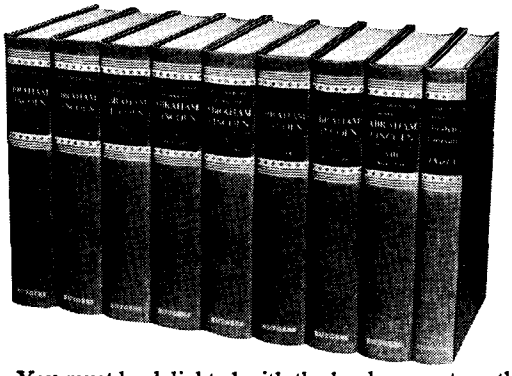
445. RISE OF THE WEST, by Wm. H. McNeill. Dazzling new history of the human community since 6000 B.C. $12.50/**$9.50**

110. JOURNALS OF LEWIS & CLARK, ed. by Bernard DeVoto. First expedition to penetrate the virgin Northwest. $6.50/**$4.95**

392. HISTORY OF RUSSIA, by Jesse D. Clarkson. Ten turbulent centuries of political and social history. $10.00/**$7.95**

265. MEMOIRS OF THE SECOND *WORLD WAR*, by Winston S. Churchill. 1086-page edition of his epic narrative. $9.00/**$6.95**

395. THE GREAT SIEGE, by Ernle Bradford. How knights of Malta stopped the Turks' advance on Europe, 1565. $6.50/**$5.50**



- **9 volumes**
- **4924 pages**
- **6870 documents**
- **43 Lincoln photographs, engravings and manuscript facsimiles**

You must be delighted with the books, or return them within ten days and owe nothing. That automatically cancels your membership. If, however, you remain, all benefits of membership are yours —savings, bonuses, wide choice of books, minimal obligation. But remember—this special $5.95 offer of the *Collected Lincoln* will not be repeated for *at least a year*. Mail the coupon today.

THE HISTORY BOOK CLUB, Stamford, Conn. **RR 6391**

Please open my Trial Membership and send my 9-volume *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, along with the first selection indicated below. Bill my *Lincoln* at just $5.95 and my selection at the money-saving Member's Price, plus postage and handling. If not delighted, I may return the books within 10 days and owe nothing, thus canceling my Trial Membership. Otherwise, to complete my Trial Membership, I agree to purchase 4 more books at the money-saving Member's Price during the next 12 months, from the 100 or more that are always available to me. (All selections are described in your monthly *Review*, and a convenient form is always provided with which I may order or reject selections.) I will receive a valuable Bonus Book of my choice with every 4th selection I take after completing Trial Membership.

SELECTION Name _____
(fill in number)

_____ **Address** _____

City _____ **State** _____ **Zip Code** _____

In Canada, same savings. Books shipped from Toronto duty free. Bonus plan differs slightly. Mail to 2847 Danforth Ave., Toronto 13, Ont.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREE!

with trial subscription, the current issue of

Commentary

the distinguished independent journal of thought and opinion sponsored as a public service by the American Jewish Committee

which includes:

GERMAN CATHOLICISM, THE VATICAN AND THE JEWS: 1925-1945, by Guenter Lewy. Why Pope Pius XII never issued a public protest against the Nazi assault on the Jews. A 12,000 word, meticulously documented account based on Dr. Lewy's original researches into German archives and papers in Bonn and *Washington.*

TWO STORIES, by the great Russian-Jewish master, Isaac Babel, never before translated into English.

THE MEANING OF NEGRO STRATEGY, by David Danzig. How the Negro bloc of yesterday has become the mass movement of today. A specialist in ethnic politics answers in terms of a continuing pattern of history.

If not pleased with free issue let us know within 10 days and your subscription will be cancelled. This offer is for new subscribers only.

COMMENTARY, Dept. R-2
165 East 56th St., New York, N.Y. 10022

Please send, free, the next issue of COMMENTARY. In addition, enter my name for a 9-month trial subscription for $2.70. I may cancel after first free issue and you will send no bill.

Name_____

Address_____

City/Zone_____ State_____

☐ *EXTRA ISSUE!* Enclose $2.70 now and we will extend your subscription to ten months. Same cancellation with full refund.

The ultimate in French Cuisine

•

Entertaining Guests?

Dining at the Chauveron is the highest compliment to their and your good taste.

Your host ROGER CHAUVERON

•

Winner of the Holiday Award for dining

Café Chauveron

139 East 53rd Street
New York City

FOR RESERVATIONS PHONE PL 1-6480

Special Pre-Theatre Dinner

A piece of the action from Newsweek:

"Scent of fear"

"The scent of fear hung over the sun-kissed island where legend says Aphrodite arose from the sea. Gutted houses lined the dusty roads of Cyprus and in the capital city of Nicosia, surrounded by its fourteenth-century wall, Greeks and Turks alike mourned their dead. Between them, establishing a *cordon sanitaire,* fresh-faced youngsters of the Gloucestershire Regiment and the Sherwood Foresters stood welcome guard in narrow, winding streets where only a few brief years ago they had been the hated enemy."

From a recent Newsweek story.
A glimpse of how we read these days.
Have you read Newsweek lately?

Newsweek

be writers. It included statements that the industry "packages false hopes," "milked the widow," and "has peddled hope indiscriminately."

I was not, nor am I now, concerned with the merit of the article. I was, and still am, much concerned with the fact that in the article I am specifically described as one of the "hired hands" of certain of the entrepreneurs of the "industry."

When I attempted to advise you that I am not now and never have been anyone's hired hand on writers' conference faculties, nor ever worked for or knowingly permitted my name to be used in advertising in connection with any correspondence or other course in writing, you informed me that I had attended the Eighth Annual Pacific Coast Writers' Conference, held in 1960.

The title of this Conference was unfamiliar to me. I thought it possible that I had been invited to attend a conference of writers held in this vicinity, but was unable to check on that fact as all my correspondence files, records, and other papers had been destroyed in the Los Angeles fire of November 1961. However, an inquiry produced the name of Professor Fruman, an associate professor of English at Los Angeles State College.

This gentleman's name I recalled. In 1960 I did, at Professor Fruman's request, deliver a lecture, on a subject of my own choosing, at Los Angeles State College to a class of students belonging to the college. The subject I chose was the relationship between the novelist and the motion-picture industry. My recommendation was that all writers, young and old, should avoid it. I was in the college for a total of an hour and a half.

I was not paid for delivering the lecture, nor did the question of payment arise. The course was organized by the College Department of English on a non-profit basis for the benefit of students of the College. There was, I am told, a nominal registration fee for the course. I understand that students attending it received credit for doing so. For reasons which I will not attempt to divine, the College authorities imposed upon the whole course the high-flown and somewhat ambiguous title mentioned above. At the time I did not connect the two things: the phrase "Writers' Conference" suggests to me simply a conference of professional writers. The young men and women to whom I lectured looked to me like college students; and they were.

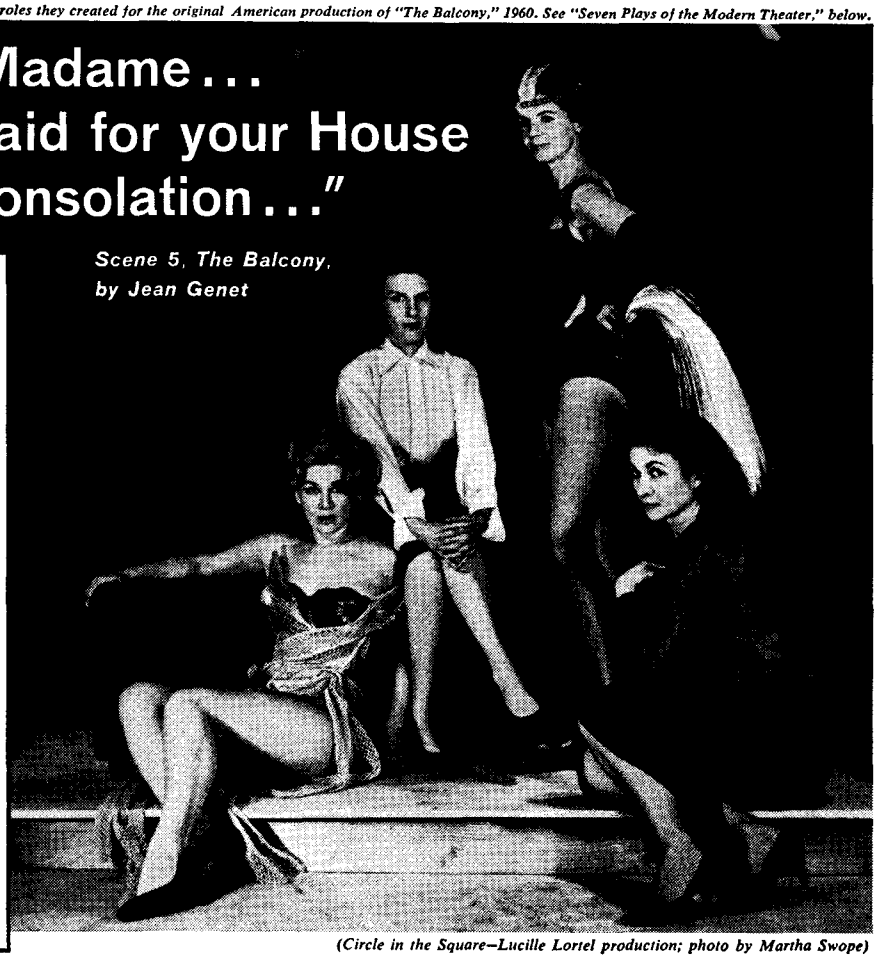
It seems that the only basis of *The Reporter's* assertion that I am a "hired hand" of "the would-be writer industry" is that, at the request of a State College English department, I once gave a free lecture to a class of college students.

The reference in your article to me is completely untrue. As you should know by now, I have not had and

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sylvia Miles, Nancy Marchand, Salome Jens, Betty Miller (l. to r.) in the roles they created for the original American production of "The Balcony," 1960. See "Seven Plays of the Modern Theater," below.

"You're so kind, Madame... The thing to be said for your House is that it brings consolation..."



Scene 5, The Balcony, by Jean Genet

(Circle in the Square—Lucille Lortel production; photo by Martha Swope)

"JEAN GENET is a genius of criminality and revolt." So writes critic Robert Brustein of the remarkable author of *Our Lady of the Flowers* and *The Balcony* (one of the *Seven Plays of the Modern Theater*, below).

In creating the "visceral and glandular world" which is the setting of his works, Genet draws upon his firsthand acquaintance with the demimonde of crime, violence, and perversion, *not* to shock us, but to confront us with the shadowy land of repressed impulses and threatening dreams which often lies beneath our consciousness.

Clearly, the works of Jean Genet are not for the ordinary reader. Nor are all of the other selections described below. But for those who choose their reading for its artistic integrity and intellectual impact, the titles shown here offer rich and varied fare. They are typical of the books and recordings presented month after month—at substantial savings—to members of The Readers' Subscription. If this is the kind of literary diet on which *you* thrive, may we suggest a trial membership on the terms outlined in the coupon below?

THE READERS' SUBSCRIPTION invites you to choose **ANY 3** of these outstanding works of the creative imagination **FOR ONLY $1 EACH**

DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN SLANG. *Ed. by* **Wentworth** and **Flexner.** "Vulgar, disreputable, bawdy, profane, blasphemous, but it is *alive.*" *The New York Times Book Review.*
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $7.50

EDMUND WILSON: PATRIOTIC GORE. A fresh look at the literature of the Civil War. "The greatest single work of Wilson's unique career." *Alfred Kazin.*
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $8.50

OUR LADY OF THE FLOWERS, *by* **Jean Genet.** At last available in this country after more than 20 years. "The greatest novel Genet or probably anyone else has produced in that time." *Alfred Kazin.*
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $6.50

T. S. ELIOT READING POEMS AND CHORUSES. *Ash Wednesday, J. Alfred Prufrock,* choruses from *Murder in the Cathedral* and *Family Reunion,* many others. *One 12" LP.*
LIST PRICE $5.95

THE DYER'S HAND, *by* **W. H. Auden.** Full of wit and wisdom, essays ranging from the metaphysics of the detective story to the politics of Shakespeare.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $7.50

LETTERS OF DOSTOEVSKY, *translated by* **Ethel Colburn Mayne.** Details of his adolescence, tragic imprisonment, exile, courtships and marriages, and the development of his masterpieces.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $6.00

SEVEN PLAYS OF THE MODERN THEATER. Genet's *The Balcony* (see picture above), plus Beckett, Ionesco, Pinter, Behan, Gelber Shelagh Delaney. Introduction by Harold Clurman.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $8.50

PARODIES. *Compiled with introduction and notes by* **Dwight Macdonald.** Chaucer to Beerbohm, Shakespeare to Mencken, Jane Austen to Perelman.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $7.50

LORD BYRON'S WIFE, *by* **Malcolm Erwin.** Never before told—story of one of the most disastrous marriages in English letters.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $8.50

COLLECTED POEMS OF W. B. YEATS. *The* definitive one-volume edition.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $6.50

EXISTENCE, *ed. by* **Rollo May, Ernest Angel, Henri F. Ellenberger.** Guide to the new psychotherapeutic approach which "seeks to understand mental illness as the disruption of the . . , *condition humaine.*"
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $7.50

FINNEGANS WAKE, *by* **James Joyce.** "One of the few great intellectual and esthetic treats that these years have yielded." *Edmund Wilson.*
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $7.50

ENCOUNTERS, *ed. by* **Spender & Lasky.** Mary McCarthy, Kenneth Tynan, Edmund Wilson, 50 others, in the best of 10 years of *Encounter Magazine.*
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $8.50

BAUDELAIRE: THE FLOWERS OF EVIL. As exciting, as turbulent as when first suppressed by French authorities.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $6.50

ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM IN AMERICAN LIFE, *by* **Richard Hofstader.** Portrays the scorners of intellect in American life and defines intellectualism and its strength.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $6.95

MARTYN GREEN'S TREASURY OF GILBERT AND SULLIVAN. A lavish and loving edition. Complete librettos of 11 famous works. Voice and piano arrangements for 102 favorites.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $15.00

THE NAKED LUNCH, *by* **William Burroughs.** The controversial work of beauty and maniacally exquisite insight.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $6.00

THE PRENTICE-HALL WORLD ATLAS. "A gem . . . mature, well-balanced, Old World cartography . . . exceptional even by European standards." *Saturday Review. 158 maps.*
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $9.00

WILLIAM FAULKNER: COLLECTED STORIES. 42 masterful stories by the late Nobel Prizewinner. To read them is to experience the thrill of discovery that happens when one enters a world created by a great writer.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $6.50

AN EXTRA GIFT

—if you choose to enclose payment when returning this coupon.

By eliminating our paperwork in billing, you receive, as an *additional* gift . . . without extra cost, Hannah Arendt's classic analysis of the modern age, ON REVOLUTION, published at $6.50.

☐ Payment of $3.00 enclosed. Send extra gift. (NYC residents, please add 4% sales tax. If payment not in U.S. funds, please add 50¢ for conversion fees. Recordings only subject to duty on shipments to Canada.)

Up to $39.00 worth of books for only $3

The Readers' Subscription Dept. 64-06
404 PARK AVE. SOUTH, NEW YORK 16

Please enroll me as a member, open my free subscription to *The Griffin,* and send me at once the three Selections indicated below, for which you will bill me only $3.00 (plus postage). I agree to purchase four more Selections at reduced Member's Prices during the coming year from the more than 75 available. I will receive a free bonus book of my own choosing after every fourth Selection.

SELECTIONS_____

_____

_____

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____ ZIP CODE_____

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LEADING CONTENDERS

National Book Awards

The judges for the 1964 National Book Awards are reading widely to find the books that they will choose in March as the most distinguished books by American authors published in the United States during 1963. Some of the books they find most outstanding are listed below:

POETRY

At the End of the Open Road LOUIS SIMPSON Wesleyan
Collected and New Poems: 1924-1963 MARK VAN DOREN Hill and Wang
Moving Target W. S. MERWIN Atheneum
Selected Poems JOHN CROWE RANSOM Knopf
To Mix With Time MAY SWENSON Scribners

Judges: Jean Garrigue, Anthony Hecht, John Hall Wheelock

FICTION

The Centaur JOHN UPDIKE Knopf
The Group MARY McCARTHY Harcourt, Brace and World
Idiots First BERNARD MALAMUD Farrar, Straus
V THOMAS PYNCHON Lippincott
The Will HARVEY SWADOS World

Judges: John Cheever, Robie Macauley, Philip Rahv

OTHER

Anti-Intellectualism in American Life RICHARD HOFSTADTER Knopf
Apolinaire: Poet Among the Painters FRANCIS STEEGMULLER Farrar, Straus
Beyond the Melting Pot NATHAN GLAZER and DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN M.I.T.
Change, Hope and the Bomb DAVID E. LILIENTHAL Princeton
The Civil War SHELBY FOOTE Random
The Fabulous Life of Diego Rivera BERTRAM D. WOLFE Stein and Day
The Fire Next Time JAMES BALDWIN Dial
The First New Nation SEYMOUR M. LIPSET Basic Books
John Keats: The Making of a Poet AILEEN WARD Viking
John Keats WALTER JACKSON BATE Harvard
The Last Horizon R. F. DASMANN Macmillan
Man-Made America: Chaos or Control? CHRISTOPHER TUNNARD and BORIS PUSHKAREV Yale
The Quiet Crisis STUART UDALL Holt, Rinehart and Winston
The South and the Southerner RALPH McGILL Atlantic Monthly Press
Success Story: The Life and Times of S. S. McClure PETER LYONS Scribners
Wasp Farm HOWARD ENSIGN EVANS Natural History Press—Doubleday

Judges: *Arts and Letters*—Charles Rolo, John K. Sherman, Wylie Sypher
Science, Philosophy and Religion—Houston Peterson, Paul B. Sears, George Shuster
History and Biography—Benjamin DeMott, James Thomas Flexner, C. Vann Woodward

The National Book Awards are administered by the National Book Committee, a non-profit educational association. The awards consist of $1000 prizes donated by the American Book Publishers Council, the American Booksellers Association, and the Book Manufacturers Institute.

Watch for announcement of the winners—Tuesday, March 10

do not now have any association with the kind of "industry" described in your article.

Meanwhile, it is almost three months since you were advised that the statement referring to me was untrue. How much longer does *The Reporter* need to bring itself to the awful point at which it must have the honesty to retract a false statement and the courtesy to apologize to the victim for the wrong done? I must now urge you to advise your readers appropriately and without further delay.

ERIC AMBLER
Los Angeles

The Reporter apologizes to Mr. Ambler for having had his name included in the article entitled "The Would-Be Writer Industry" in the context in which it was so used and regrets any implication that Mr. Ambler was ever associated as a paid participant in any of the Writers' Conferences mentioned in the article or that he was connected with the ownership and operation of any of such conferences or the industry.

As to the delay mentioned in the last paragraph of Mr. Ambler's letter, however, we would like to point out that a good deal of time, postage, and transcontinental telephoning have been devoted to the question of whether Mr. Ambler did or did not attend the Eighth Annual Pacific Coast Writers' Conference. After his attorneys informed us in a letter dated October 23 of his displeasure over what was meant as a flattering if somewhat jocular reference to him in our pages, we double-checked the fact that he had been present at the conference in 1960, and our attorneys so informed his attorneys on November 22. In reply, Mr. Ambler's attorneys informed our attorneys on December 3 of their client's conviction that "he was not in attendance either at the conference you mention or at any other." On December 12, the lawyers talked it all over on the phone. On January 3 our legal advisers received a letter from his legal advisers stating that Mr. Ambler had appeared at the conference but had received no compensation. On January 8 the lawyers talked it all over on the phone and worked out a tentative agreement that Mr. Ambler would write us a letter setting forth his side of the case. That letter was mailed from California on January 21, and we are now publishing it in the first issue to go to press after we received it.

We are happy to set the record straight. Indeed, our primary concern throughout has been a desire to be absolutely fair to Mr. Ambler, a writer for whom we have the highest respect. Incidentally, four of his thrillers—*Journey into Fear*, *A Coffin for Dimitrios*, *Cause for Alarm*, and *Background to Danger*—are all available in one volume under the title *Intrigue* (Knopf, $4.95), and we recommend it highly to those who would like to become more familiar with his best writing.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For the man who wants to earn $25,000 or more a year—

Use This Get-Ahead Strategy To Boost Your Earnings Now!

Remarkable 3-Volume

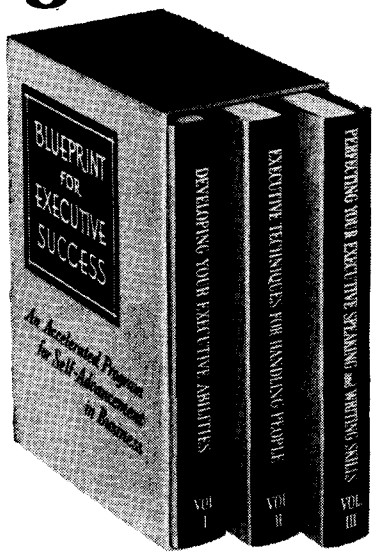
"BLUEPRINT FOR EXECUTIVE SUCCESS"

Regularly $7.95, yours for only $1.49

with FREE 3-Month Trial Membership in the

Business Leaders' Book Club

No obligation to accept any minimum number of selections


BLUEPRINT FOR EXECUTIVE SUCCESS
An Accelerated Program for Self-Improvement in Business
DEVELOPING YOUR EXECUTIVE ABILITIES
EXECUTIVE TECHNIQUES FOR HANDLING PEOPLE
PERFECTING YOUR EXECUTIVE SPEAKING and WRITING SKILLS
VOL I
VOL II
VOL III

THIS accelerated self-training course, "BLUEPRINT FOR EXECUTIVE SUCCESS," develops your talents in *the three key areas that really matter in business*—handling executive responsibility . . . leading people and directing their work . . . polishing your speaking and writing skills. These are the three abilities you must concentrate on: everything else is secondary. Master these skills and you will rise rapidly from promotion to promotion until you move up to a top-echelon job and income you never dreamed could be yours so quickly.

In these 3 volumes you get a proven strategy for self-advancement in business that is completely unique and available nowhere else. This strategy, years in the making, singles out the few special executive qualities shared by all successful men in business, and tells you how to develop these qualities and put them to work in your *own* career! For years thousands of young businessmen have sought such a specific get-ahead program, and now *you* can profit from it!

Here are just a few of the executive skills, techniques, insights and viewpoints this remarkable 3-volume program gives you:

VOLUME I—Developing Your Executive Abilities

- How to develop the KEY EXECUTIVE TRAIT that can double your salary in the next 12 months
- How to control people with compelling power
- Six secrets for making the right decisions
- How to use good health as a weapon
- How to "stand out" in a conference
- How to use stress as a "pep pill"
- How to "will" your way to success
- How to become the "instinctive leader" at every meeting
- How to skyrocket your progress by cutting "emotional drag"
- How to make the "management viewpoint" second nature
- How to get more done in less time
- The ONE SIMPLE STEP that wins half of every battle
- Fifteen priceless tips for sharpening your executive reach

VOLUME II—Executive Techniques of Handling People

- How to grab responsibility others shy away from
- How to take the "obvious" way to success
- How to win the respect of executives on your own level
- Six ways to win the good opinion of your superiors
- How to handle trouble-makers
- How to arbitrate disputes without resentment
- How to sell your ideas
- How to add a terrific new charge to your "persuasion power"
- The PLATINUM RULE of human relations that powers your way to the top
- How to sell yourself with "perfect pitch"
- How to maintain an even keel in every situation

VOLUME III—Perfecting Executive Speaking and Writing Skills

- How to write and deliver a "smash" speech
- How to avoid garden-variety platform faults
- How to write presentations that rarely miss
- Magic words that assure cooperation from others
- How to create a favorable mental image
- How to grab and hold your audience from the very first line
- How to put together a speech that's "fluff-proof"
- Five tips for faster business reading
- The secret of successful "ad-libbing"
- How to develop the executive's vocabulary
- Five top hints for that final polish and style
- How to write memos and reports that command instant attention and respect

A great many people want executive rewards, but allow uncertainty and indecision to keep them from preparing themselves for these rewards. The man who IS willing to prepare himself, the man who steps forward and says, "Yes, I WANT to be an executive"—has the battle half won. First, he beats the others who are slow to step ahead. Secondly, his superiors realize that his *willingness* to step forward is the biggest mark in anyone's favor.

Here is YOUR chance to take that all-important step forward by getting hold of the "Blueprint for Executive Success."

How to Get This Entire

3-VOLUME SET

At the Amazingly Low Price of

ONLY $1.49! (Regularly $7.95)

Just mail the coupon to get your 3-volume "Blueprint for Executive Success" for only $1.49. You will also be enrolled in the Business Leaders' Book Club for 3 months' FREE trial, without any cost or obligation.

The Club has one purpose: to help you, through selective reading, to acquire those viewpoints, habits, and abilities which make for outstanding success in your career.

Club members are men like yourself—fairly young, able, and intelligent enough to realize that programmed reading can greatly speed their advancement.

To this end, the Club provides you with a balanced diet of the best in business books. Selections vary in nature. Some focus on your human relations. Others teach you special talents that command big rewards . . . how to create original ideas, how to master the arts of salesmanship, how to organize and direct the work of others.

For the next 3 months you will enjoy all Club benefits: the fresh viewpoints, new ideas, better ways to do things . . . to speed your personal and business advancement, and help you earn more money.

Start Your FREE 3-Month Trial Membership Now

Simply mail coupon below to receive Club benefits, FREE, for 3 months' trial, and to get the 3-volume "Blueprint for Executive Success" for only $1.49 (reg. price $7.95).

The privileges of membership you will enjoy without charge:

1. You will be under no obligation to buy any specific number of Club selections.
2. You will be kept informed, *free of charge*, of the good new business books being published.
3. You will be entitled to buy—at the members' *special discount price*—*any of the Club's selections that appeal to you.*
4. You receive the first selection, the 3-volume "Blueprint for Executive Success" (reg. price $7.95) for only $1.49 under this special demonstration offer.

TRIAL MEMBERSHIP COUPON—MAIL NOW

Business Leaders' Book Club, Dept. 5764-B1 Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Please enroll me in the Business Leaders' Book Club for a 3-month trial period. I am to receive the Club's announcements free, and will enjoy full membership privileges, *without obligation to buy any number of Club selections.* As my first selection under this trial membership, send me "Blueprint for Executive Success" (regular price $7.95) for only $1.49.

Name _____ 80

Address _____

City _____ *Zone* _____ *State* _____

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Voices of Silence

PARIS, January 31

General de Gaulle's silences often seem built into the very structure of his public statement and sometimes they are the most interesting part of the communication. Seldom, however, has what the general did not say loomed so significantly or weighed so heavily as in his press conference today.

There was not a word, for example, alluding to the famous "two Chinas" formula on which some western observers have been building illusory hopes, nor any discussion of France's future relations with Nationalist China. Instead, there was a characteristic de Gaulle-like tribute to the "patriotism, valor, and elevation of soul" of Chiang Kai-shek which had the unmistakable ring of elegy. As Robert Guillain pointed out in *Le Monde*, between Mao and Chiang, de Gaulle has already made his choice. If de Gaulle has to take the initiative of breaking with his old comrade in arms he will do so, however reluctantly. Seemingly only some monumental piece of arrogance or stupidity in Peking could prevent France from developing relations on the basis of one China, with the implied commitment to support Peking's claim to the permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council now held by Nationalist China.

Again, General de Gaulle had not a word of reassurance or explanation for those friendly African governments, especially Madagascar's, that privately or publicly voiced their concern over the increased risks of Chinese subversive penetration in Africa arising out of France's decision to recognize the Peking regime. Unquestionably the general considered this problem carefully before making his decision, and no doubt he thinks he has a satisfactory solution to it. It would be fascinating to know what this solution is.

Perhaps there was an indirect warning to France's new Chinese friends, whom de Gaulle apparently thinks of as incarnating the "China of always," in another part of the press conference where the general laid down an interesting criterion for judging which underdeveloped countries were worthy of France's help and friendship and which were to be looked on as mere cockpits for rival imperialisms, "including the imperialisms of tomorrow." The test, according to de Gaulle, is whether a given country devotes its energies and resources to developing itself in such a way as to contribute to modern civilization or whether it vitiates its potential in "domestic or foreign agitations and demagoguery." One of the significant features of this significant formulation was its context. It was developed in response to a question about Gaullist policy toward Latin America, where its application to Castro seems self-evident. But it applies no less to Africa or China itself, and thus may constitute a valuable qualification to the French version of active neutralism that de Gaulle seems to envisage as the basis for French diplomacy in Southeast Asia.

Finally, and above all, there was de Gaulle's failure to cover even indirectly the impact of his new China policy on Franco-American relations. Perhaps this was the heaviest silence of all. It is hard not to read into it at least the absence of any desire to clear up the present misunderstandings or conflicts between the two allies, but it may well also indicate a desire not to envenom them needlessly.

We might do well to follow the example of the general's discretion for a while. It is still far from clear exactly what de Gaulle's recognition of Communist China implies for the future, and the press conference supplied only a few tantalizing hints as to the Gaullist estimate of the present strategic and political situation in Asia on which it was based. It seems unlikely that more detailed information can make the policy seem compatible with United States national interests as our government understands them, but it may be that when we know more of the background to the negotiations between Paris and Peking, we shall discover that the damage to our interests is both different in nature and more limited in scale than we presently realize.

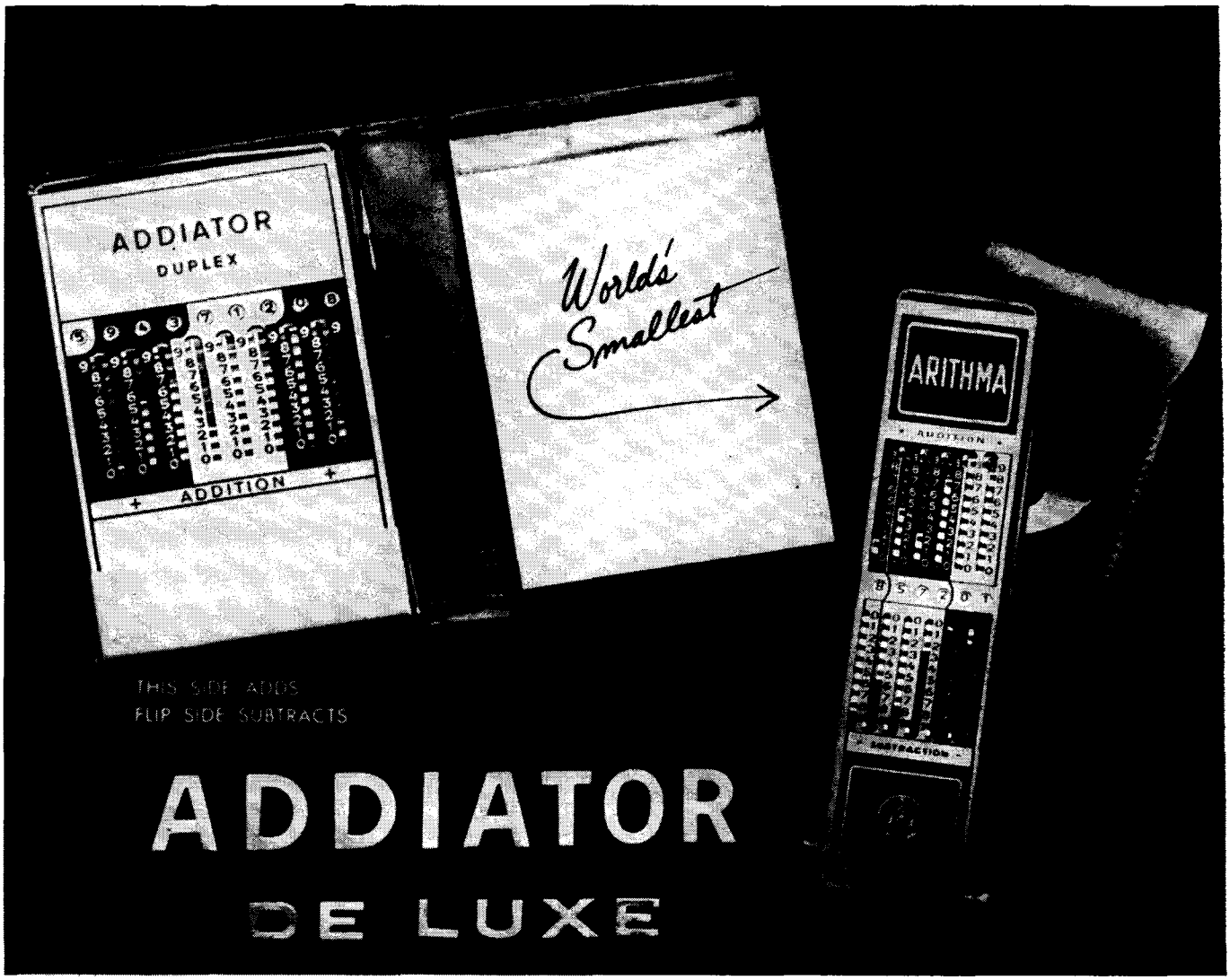
—EDMOND TAYLOR

Amending the Amendment

The end came simply enough. When South Dakota ratified the Twenty-fourth Amendment banning the payment of a poll tax as a qualification for voting in Federal elections, it automatically became a part of the Constitution. But for the five Southern states that still require a poll tax for state and local elections, the complications have just begun. Virginia and Texas have already provided for "dual elections," meaning that when both state and Federal elections are held on the same day, there will have to be two or even three registration lists (Federal only, state only, Federal and state together), two or three separate ballots, voting-machine readjustments, and separate counts for the poll-tax-paying and non-poll-tax-paying voter. It would have been nice to consider all this an attack on unemployment through public works, but unfortunately it offers only temporary relief once every two years.

Virginia, however, has gone Texas one better. In a special session last November, the Virginia General Assembly arranged for a substitute to the poll tax to go into effect the moment the Twenty-fourth Amendment became law. Those who wish

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The Aristocrat of Pocket Adding Machines At A Surprisingly Low Price

HERE in gleaming golden brass are the exciting de luxe models of the world-famous Addiator.

Made with exacting precision by Old World craftsmen, this 100% accurate pocket adding machine has never been equalled — even though more than a hundred imitators have tried. When you own an Addiator you need never fear it will break, rust, jam or get out of order. Its trouble-free mechanism cannot make a mistake, even over long years of use. For this reason, complete satisfaction is guaranteed or brand new replacement will be made at any time by Addiator of Berlin.

IN WORLD-WIDE USE

In 51 countries more than 5,000,000 Addiator customers — including General Motors, Pan American Airways, American Express, Celanese and dozens of other great corporations and government agencies — testify to Addiator's superiority.

These are the fast, easy-to-use personal adding machines that save countless hours of tedious mental work for scientists, secretaries, students, accountants, engineers, business men and housewives. They prevent costly mistakes, balance checkbooks, keep budgets, total tapes and sales slips, check scores, add up car mileages . . . and do 1001 other adding and subtracting chores without ever making a mistake.

ULTIMATE IN STYLE AND PERFORMANCE

The Arithma De Luxe is the brass luxury model of the world's smallest precision adding machine. Weighing scarcely three ounces, it's the size and shape of a pocket comb.

The custom-styled Addiator Duplex is the Executive model for both pocket and desk. It may be had either with or without the memo pad, combination stylus-pencil and leather case.

UNIQUE 1-YEAR TRIAL

We know you will be so delighted with these new de luxe model Addiators — and will find so many uses for them — that we are offering them on a full year's money-back trial. You simply mail the coupon. Then, after using your Addiator for up to 1 year, if you can bring yourself to part with it, we will refund your full purchase price.

NOTE: These machines cost 50% more in 1960. But now for over a year new production techniques have made possible exciting savings.

$3.98 instead of $5.95

for the ARITHMA DELUXE with case. (Adds and subtracts up to 999,999—$9,999.99).

$5.98 instead of $9.95 for the ADDIATOR DUPLEX with case (Adds and subtracts up to 999,999,999—$9,999,999.99). $8.95 instead of $11.95 with Offenbach leather case and memo pad.

NOTE: *These* machines never, never slip a cog or make a mistake!

Order from: Harrison Home Products
Dept. 2-R, 250 Passaic Street, Newark, N. J.

MAIL COUPON NOW

Harrison Industries Inc., Dept. 2-R
250 Passaic Street, Newark, N. J.

Please send me the ADDIATOR I have checked. If I am not delighted with it, I may return it any time within 1 year for a full purchase price refund.

- ☐ **ARITHMA DE LUXE** with case $3.98 Originally $5.95
- ☐ **ADDIATOR DUPLEX** with case $5.98 Originally $9.95
- ☐ **ADDIATOR DUPLEX** with Offenbach Leather Case and Pad $8.95 Originally $11.95
- ☐ **PAYMENT ENCLOSED.** Enclosed find $_____ cash, check or money order. Ship postpaid.
- ☐ **SEND C.O.D.** I'll pay postman price plus postage and C.O.D. charges.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

CANADIAN CUSTOMERS: Order from Harrison Home Products Ltd., 675 King St. W., Toronto, Ontario.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A piece of the action from Newsweek:

"Infinite Zero"

"H. G. Wells once wrote a tragicomic fantasy about a corpulent man who magically lost a lot of weight instead of fat, and had to sew lead weights to his underwear to save himself from ballooning away. Zero Mostel, the circular star of the lightweight Broadway musical-comedy hit 'A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum,' keeps his feet securely on the ground with the esthetic ballast of graphic art. Some people think of Mostel as a comedian who paints. But he is really more than that: Mostel is a painter who acts."

From a recent Newsweek Art column. A glimpse of how we read these days. Have you read Newsweek lately?

Newsweek

Searching, unbiased report on The Economic and Social Revolution of

CUBA

Edited by Dudley Seers,

Director, Division of Trade and Surveys, UN Economic Commission for Africa

Supplementing formal research with a tour of Cuba, visits to ministers, schools, state farms and factories a group of experts attempt to foresee what lies in store for this island nation. Most of the information gathered here is *not available elsewhere*. $7.50.

at your bookseller or

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Solution to

THE REPORTER

Puzzle #94

D	E	E	P	D	I	T	C	H			A	L	M	A
R		W		R		H		E		C		E		S
O	P	E	N	A	I	R		R	E	H	E	A	T	S
P		L		W		O		S		A		N		E
A	T	L	E	I	S	U	R	E		R	O	B	O	T
M				N		G		L		T		A		S
A	M	O	N	G	T	H	E	F	R	E	N	C	H	
N		P		A						R		O		D
	C	A	M	B	O	D	I	A	P	R	I	N	C	E
C		L		I		R		L		E				A
R	U	R	A	L		E	A	S	Y	C	H	A	I	R
A		I		I		A		A		O		K		A
D	E	N	O	T	E	D		T	I	R	E	R	I	M
L		G		Y		E		I		D		O		O
E	L	S	E			D	E	A	R	S	O	N	G	S

Acrostician—

NORODOM SIHANOUK

to vote in a Federal election in Virginia without paying the poll tax must now file a "certificate of residency" six months before the election takes place. The General Assembly refused to entertain the suggestion that those who so file be given receipts. And without a receipt the voter cannot prove he has filed a certificate in case some question about his eligibility should arise at the polls. Of course, if he pays the poll tax, he is automatically registered to vote in all elections, Federal, state, and local. But while the $1.50 tax is nothing very much to pay, the trick is that it must be paid for three consecutive years preceding an election in order to guarantee eligibility. The Byrd machine, it must be understood, is as much concerned about the voting habits of the carpetbaggers who have moved to Virginia in order to work for that other government across the Potomac as it is about the Negro vote. And Senator Byrd and Virginia's ten representatives are up for re-election this fall. "The issue," said Governor Albertis S. Harrison, Jr., when he convened the special session of the General Assembly, ". . . is, in fact, a very narrow one—to assure that the electorate of Virginia is made up only of bona-fide residents of this State; to make certain that the purity of our elections be preserved."

Notes for a Great Debate

—Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. From Keene, New Hampshire, we are privileged to bring you a discussion by the candidates for the 1964 Republican Presidential nomination of the issues that unite and divide them. Seated before you on my left is . . .

—Hiyah, fella.

—Governor, I am afraid we're not going to have time for introductory statements tonight. As you know, Mrs. Smith may have to leave early in order to be back in Washington to record the 1,591st consecutive roll-call vote she has not missed.

To continue: to my left is New York's Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller. Governor Rockefeller is the only one of the candidates so far to have campaigned on foot through each of New Hampshire's 487

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

union-approved supermarkets. Seated next to him is Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine. Mrs. Smith, as many of you already know, is a woman. To the right of Mrs. Smith is Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona. Senator Goldwater has been barnstorming the state in an exact replica of the Boeing Company's rejected version of the TFX. Seated next to Senator Goldwater is . . . well . . . Harold Stassen. I am your moderator, Thomas E. Dewey, and before we begin the debate I should like to read part of a message just received from former Vice-President Nixon: "You are all to be commended for your decision to come before the American people and let them decide which of the extremist positions you represent may be nearest their own."

Well, gentlemen, I see that Senator Smith has had to leave. She surely would have made a very lively opponent had she been able to stay, but I am sure none of us would question the high priority of the pending amendment to the supplemental feed-grains appropriation. I am certain she would have wanted us to go on as if she were here, so, Senator Goldwater, let me begin with a question for you. Last week, sir, Governor Rockefeller, in a major address at the frozen-pastry counter of the Franconia Stop 'n' Shop, charged that you intended, if you were elected, to sell the Peace Corps. I wonder if you would comment on that.

—There's not a word of truth in it, Tom, and my good friend Nelson Rockefeller knows it too. What I did say was that a new administration might look into the feasibility of *renting* the Peace Corps—which is an entirely different matter—at, say, a 3½ per cent return on our investment in young people.

—Just a minute, Mr. Stassen. Governor, you look as if you wanted to answer that.

—I sure do, Tom. I'd like to take a minute to remind my good friend Barry Goldwater of a superb, of a simply marvelous and wonderful, wonderful definition of Republican philosophy I read somewhere. It was de Tocqueville, I think, who said it, or maybe William S. White, and it went like this: Republicans believe in letting the people do what the Democrat Party always wants someone else to do. Now I subscribe to that one hundred per cent, and I resent the charges my good friend has been making—that I am not a Republican. And as for whether Senator Goldwater actually believes in selling the Peace Corps or whether he concretely said it, well, I will leave it to the people to decide whether he has yet disavowed the support of those hate groups and extremists on both sides who probably would think it was a good idea. I have no doubt about how that issue will be decided at the polls in March by Republican voters—whatever their party affiliation.

—In a *minute*, Harold. Yes, Senator?

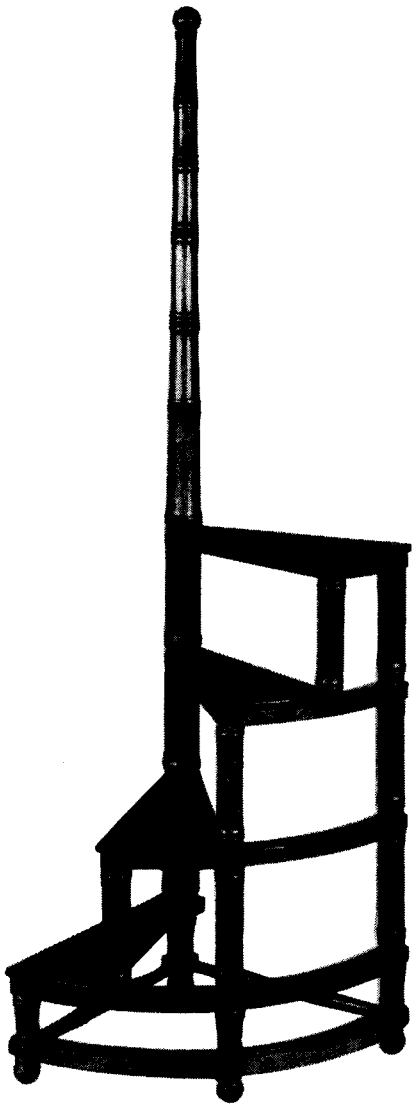
—Well, I think it is interesting to point out that especially with all this talk about right-wing hate groups that according to an article I read in the Cincinnati *Bee*, my position on public financing has been supported by the distinguished economic historian Dr. Hans Bethe of McGill University, who could by no stretch of the imagination be called a reactionary. And I would like to know what the Governor makes of that.

—Please sit down, Harold. Governor?

—Well, I am not too familiar with Dr. Bethe's work, but his name rings a bell. He is a wonderful, wonderful person and I think he may be on one of my staffs. I would have to check that, though, and I certainly will check it and we will have a statement on that tomorrow.

—Well, gentlemen, I don't like to interrupt this spirited exchange, but I'm afraid our time is coming to an end. I know you will all be interested to learn that while we were on the air, the President telephoned directly from a meeting of the National Security Council to tell each of the candidates that he loves him, and that he thinks each and every one of you would make a fine Vice-Presidential candidate on his own ticket. We have had another telegram from former Vice-President Nixon, too, outlining his position on the amendment to the feed-grains appropriation, but unfortunately we will not be able to read it. Oh! Harold, I *am* sorry.

WHO NEEDS IT?



Only a certain kind of man. He reads a lot. He likes to retire to the privacy of his own den. He gets pleasure out of having fine things in his home. Originally this item was designed for a London gentleman's library. We liked the completed article almost as much as he did. So we asked permission to offer identical pieces. Standing 70" high, this piece has four leather-topped stairs and is hand made from specially selected Rosewood.

If you feel that you could give one of our stairways a good home, then send your cheque for*$99 by air mail to Dynasty Art Furniture, J. K. Sherlock, 50 Macdonnell Road, Hong Kong.

DYNASTY ART FURNITURE

HONG KONG–BRITISH CROWN COLONY

*Price is f.o.b. New York City or San Francisco, duty, sea freight and insurance paid.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Politics of Poverty

DOUGLASS CATER

AT LEAST one public-spirited lobbyist in Washington who had been working long and hard to stir up a fight against poverty in the United States was caught by surprise to learn that President Johnson was declaring "unconditional war" on this ancient enemy. There had not been the usual bureaucratic rumblings to indicate such a major governmental initiative in the making. Nor did it seem a particularly auspicious time, Congress being already bogged down on two issues marginally related to this one: civil rights and tax reduction. Two key Kennedy programs directly aimed at poverty—the Area Redevelopment Administration and the Appalachian project—were in serious difficulties. The request of ARA for more funds had been rebuffed by the House of Representatives last summer; and the Appalachian project, though zealously promoted by Under Secretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., was having trouble getting past the preliminary stage of Budget Bureau clearance.

Amid such disarray, how did the ambitious scheme for a frontal war on poverty come into being? The origins of an idea in the nation's capital are always difficult to trace, especially after a President sponsors it and thereby puts a premium on plagiarism.

THIS ONE seems to have had at least partial beginnings in the Council of Economic Advisers, where it was stimulated not so much by any sudden sympathy for the poor but by tough problems of fiscal policy. Last year's Council Report, concentrating on the need for a tax cut, failed even to mention hard-core poverty. But as Council Chairman Walter Heller began to look beyond the tax cut and ponder the inevitable downturn in the government's rate of spending for defense, space, and related activities, he recognized the combined advantages of a broad attack on the deep-seated economic distress that economists describe as "structural" (as distinguished from "cyclical") and that publicists have labeled "pockets of poverty." On June 3, Heller directed a memorandum to his staff soliciting their views on the subject. "Specifically, what lines of action might make up a practical Kennedy anti-poverty program in 1964?" he inquired. He also commenced quiet agitation within the Executive branch and even test-marketed the idea during a speech at the Communications Workers convention. He failed to get much response from either his audience or the press.

Heller was more successful with the President, who, of course, had long been sensitive to the economic decline in Massachusetts caused by industrial migration to the South. Thanks to the Presidential primary system, Kennedy had been fully exposed in West Virginia to poverty of a scale and severity that he had never before seen. As he later sought to repay his political debt to that state, he faced the fact that even more desperate conditions existed in the mountainous country of eastern Kentucky and that poverty was endemic to the whole Appalachian region stretching from Pennsylvania to the foothills of north Alabama.

The late President was displaying increasing concern over the problem during the final months of his life.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Last fall, moved by Homer Bigart's eloquent account in the New York *Times* of conditions in the Cumberland Plateau as winter approached, he hurriedly directed Under Secretary Roosevelt to mobilize all the emergency funds available to relieve the families of unemployed miners. On the evening before he left on the fateful trip that terminated in Dallas, Kennedy gave tentative assent to Heller's request to proceed with a poverty program. If he had lived, some advisers believe, Kennedy would have surely worked hard to change the trend that, over the past decade, had allocated a fairly puny portion of the budget to Federal welfare services. But considering the stalemate on the legislative front, they doubt that a full-scale war on poverty would have started with such a bang.

THE FACT that Johnson moved so swiftly on Heller's proposition even as he was determinedly slashing away at the budget has aroused a certain amount of skepticism in Washington. It offered obvious tactical advantages by opening inviting propects to liberals in Congress while dealing out hard and immediate realities to conservatives like Senate Finance Committee Chairman Harry Byrd. The cost of the new program will not become clear right away. The coming year's budget, according to its drafters, earmarks five hundred million dollars in new obligational authority for a special poverty package along with at least another six hundred million for beefing up existing programs or starting new ones. But actual expenditures in fiscal 1965 could amount to only half of this—not a very substantial outlay compared to the size of the task. Though nobody seems to have a precise notion about what an unconditional war on poverty should cost, everybody agrees that it won't be cheap.

Johnson supporters profess not to be worried that their man will shy away from the budget realities. They point out that while he may not have any theoretical commitment to Keynesian economics, the new President does have an abiding concern for human beings. As a youth he had more than a speaking acquaintance with poverty, and later, working for the New Deal's National Youth Administration, he served a valuable apprenticeship trying to eradicate its corrosive effects.

Who Are the Poor?

Amid the newly aroused public interest, there has been not a little backbiting over why the policymakers have dallied so long. One complaint is that the publicists have failed to make this a particularly burning issue. At a recent "Pockets of Poverty" conference in Washington, economist John Kenneth Galbraith felt obliged to defend himself against accusations that he had misled everybody by his writings about *The Affluent Society*. Galbraith argued that "One of my principal purposes was to urge that growing wealth will not, of itself, solve the problem of poverty." But he ruefully admitted that more people had read the title than the book.

Much of the recent literature directly addressed to poverty has been couched in a jargon that politicians cannot comprehend, much less find compelling. Translated, it has revealed the distressing fact that at least one-fifth of our population

still lives in rather abject conditions. While this would seem to represent some improvement over the "one-third of a nation" that concerned FDR, statisticians estimate that those in the bottom fifth have been getting a stationary share of the nation's goods and services during the past three decades even as the gross national product has grown vastly. They seem to be caught in a rut of privation that deepens as the economy moves ahead. They are not simply confined to big geographic pockets such as Appalachia, but include millions living in city, town, and country from coast to coast.

In the attempt to search out the poor and identify them, sociologists have developed categories of families having "poverty-linked" characteristics—nonwhites, families with no earners, families whose heads are females, males aged fourteen to twenty-five or over sixty-five, individuals with less than eight years of schooling, inhabitants of some farm areas, and families in which there are more than six children under eighteen. These are the ones who are most apt to fall into the rut and, once in, have the most difficulty climbing out. A recent study made by the National Policy Committee on Pockets of Poverty reached the alarming conclusion that these poverty risks have been on the increase and that "Unless remedial steps are undertaken, there will be considerably more poor even with a more affluent America." Of those who fall into these categories, the committee's study concludes: "Their poverty is the result of special circumstances, rather than of . . . the rate of economic activity. Their lot cannot be said to be the direct result of inadequate growth rate as they are not part of the economic structure . . . It will not do to argue—as most policymakers and economists do—that poverty will be done away with by policies aimed at bringing about full employment."

This year's Report of the Council of Economic Advisers presents statistics that in general show a declining incidence of poverty in these risk groups. But it, too, soberly concludes with the prediction that ". . . in the future economic growth alone will provide relatively fewer escapes from poverty. Policy will have to be more sharply focused on the handicaps that deny the poor fair access to the expanding incomes of a growing economy."

BUT THERE has been more dramatic testimony of what the policymakers are up against. *Night Comes to the Cumberlands,* written two years ago by Harry Caudill, a lawyer and a former state legislator from

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Whitesburg, Kentucky, describes eloquently the misery of his region, which nature has endowed so abundantly with beauty and mineral resources. Caudill points out that the causes of its present predicament are ancient and deeply rooted. A way of life based primarily on coal mining led inevitably to company-style paternalism and left employees helpless as markets declined and automation moved in. Caudill makes a scathing indictment of the politics that failed and still fails to protect the interests of this region and its people. There was first of all the failure of local and county politics to impose an adequate tax base during boom times, thereby permitting the gradual decay in schooling and other local social services. State politics not only failed to plan wisely for the region's future but even today permits the scandalous exploitation by strip and auger mining in which newfangled mechanical monsters lay waste the mountainsides as a cheap way of getting at the coal veins. A farm owner whose ancestors bargained away his mineral rights for as little as fifty cents an acre may find his land ruined and his streams clogged without possibility of redress. Soon, Caudill warns, the Cumberlands may be unfit even for the tourist trade that has been its brightest prospect.

Finally, Caudill indicts national politics for ignoring the plight of this region even while dealing so generously with the nearby Tennessee Valley. Emergency Federal programs for Appalachia have mainly had the result of accustoming these dispirited people to life on the dole. Federal welfare, he also points out, has been dispensed in a way that reinforced the rule of the county courthouse satrapies, stubbornly resistant to progress.

ANOTHER eloquent book, Michael Harrington's *The Other America*, also published in 1962, describes less remote parts but people just as isolated from the main life in this country. The poor, Harrington argues, have become invisible. Even those who huddle in the cities have not been able to identify themselves or their problems so that others will pay attention. Unlike earlier generations who could aspire to break out, today's poor often inherit a legacy handed down from generation to generation.

Harrington, too, indicts a political system that launches massive programs in agriculture, housing, Social Security, and the rest while almost entirely neglecting the genuine poor. Social Security does not cover them. Minimum-wage laws specifically exempt them. Even slum clearance, wryly labeled "Negro removal," usually only complicates their existence. He points out that government welfare unwittingly contributes to broken homes and illegitimacy by denying help to the family whose father is hopelessly unemployable even if able-bodied. School-lunch programs have not nourished the communities that could not afford to transport the surplus foods or the children who could not make even the token payments.

Both Caudill and Harrington have written angry books, reminiscent of an earlier literature in America. They depict poverty that feeds on itself and politics that has advanced little in its mentality from the day of the soup kitchens. But though the situation they describe is deeply disturbing, the nature of the remedy is by no means clear-cut. The politics of poverty today poses problems no less baffling than the economics of poverty.

What Can Be Done?

Caudill and others have suggested that the best way to rehabilitate Appalachia would be to create a Federal authority closely patterned along the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority. TVA's success story after three decades has aroused a great deal of envy among nearby valley folk who watched its planners and technicians—calling on the blessed trinity of water, electric power, and fertilizer—perform their economic miracle in this once benighted valley. But in hindsight, the political success story is no less miraculous. First promoted by Nebraska's Republican Senator George Norris, who lacked a self-serving constituent interest in the region, TVA was able to build a political base that withstood the assaults of the private-power lobby and survived eight years under a President who called it "creeping socialism." It did not merely survive, it converted the subalterns whom Eisenhower sent down to be directors and continued to expand its resources to meet the region's needs.

Some skeptics in Washington argue that TVA's experience is so freakish as to have no relevance for Appalachia. In the first place, they claim, the technical feat of developing a river basin that was confluent by nature is scarcely applicable to a mountain chain where even near neighbors share little sense of identity in their misfortunes.

Is it possible to devise a program that spans rural eastern Kentucky and industrial western Pennsylvania? Recent experience indicates that the problems are not merely technical. There were great hopes that a bold start was being made with the Area Redevelopment Administration, the first program enacted under Kennedy after being twice vetoed by Eisen-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hower. Its chief purpose was to supply long-term, low-interest loans to induce private industry to locate in depressed areas and thereby create jobs. When, after only two years' experience, the House voted down new authorizations for ARA, it was quite evident that this new venture had aroused little enthusiasm. Some of the opposition came from such men as Representative W. Pat Jennings, Democrat of Virginia, whose district was one of those most in need of assistance.

THEIR miscellaneous complaints indicate the nature of ARA's political predicament: the loans were too few and too tardy in being granted; assistance was not reaching the most depressed communities; industries were being enticed from higher-cost areas; and, finally, ARA was promoting such frivolous projects as ski lifts and motels.

Quite possibly, Administrator William L. Batt, Jr., has been overoptimistic in claiming that a hundred thousand permanent jobs will result from the $192.6 million ARA has invested to date. But clearly, not all his troubles were of his own making. Jockeying in Congress set the terms that permitted more than a thousand separate areas to qualify for ARA's limited largesse. As a concession to the Federal bureaucracy—a formidable political power—ARA has been required to work mainly through existing Federal agencies, slowing things considerably. Though the desire for haste may have led to a few dubious projects, Batt and his associates argue vehemently that motels and ski lifts, as in the experience of Vermont, can bring great prosperity to rural regions. And it is sad but true, they admit, that some of the areas in most desperate need have the hardest time meeting criteria imposed by the statutes.

The rise and decline of ARA suggests that the politicians lack the patience to allow time for a long-range developmental program to prove itself. Even among the Kennedy aides, there were signs of diminished enthusiasm after the debacle in the House. Officials of ARA were unexpectedly heartened when Johnson, in his State of the Union message, called for expansion of their "small but successful" program.

Both congressmen and local politicians have shown greater partiality for an alternative method of aid inaugurated during the Kennedy administration—the Accelerated Public Works Program. Through stepped-up Federal help in building various community facilities, with the ironic exception of schools, APWP has managed to pump more than $850 million into depressed areas. It can move swiftly and its benefits are highly visible. Batt, who also administers this program, estimates that more than 220,000 jobs have been created, but he points out that they average only one year's duration. Improving public facilities may improve a community's capacity to attract industry, he argues, but it is hardly a substitute for programs like ARA that are designed to have a more lasting impact.

THE PRIORITIES of politics have also left their mark on the Commerce Department's effort to put together a program specifically designed for Appalachia. As a concession to the eight participating governors of that region, the notion of a TVA-type regional authority was rejected in favor of a Federal corporation that would share its powers with the state governments. Voting was to be equally divided between Federal and state authority, thus in effect requiring unanimity for all major decisions. Such an arrangement aroused a great deal of enthusiasm in the state capitals, but at last report it was running into serious opposition among Budget Bureau experts who are doubtful not only about its constitutionality but also whether it represents sound policy for the Federal government.

Other doubts have been voiced about the governors' dominant interest in launching a massive and politically lucrative road-building program. "Every citizen of Appalachia to live within twenty-five miles of a sixty-mile-an-hour highway," the slogan goes. This traditional method of public works, generously subsidized by the Federal government, has its benefits, both direct and as a pump primer for depressed areas.

Fighting Inertia

But $4.50-an-hour road-engineering crews hardly fall into the impoverished class. Those who are most intimately involved with the problems of the poor are concerned that such a program should not be regarded as the sole thrust of an unconditional war.

Just a quick visit to the battlefronts can provide convincing evidence of how intractable poverty's problems really are. In the hill country of western Tennessee last summer, I toured an area that has remained largely untouched by TVA's regenerative force. Even in communities not distant from the billion-dollar industrial development along one stretch of the Tennessee River, I came upon squalor reminiscent of the poverty-ridden South of the depression period. Poverty's habits are persistent, as TVA's planners readily concede. There are those inhabitants of the region classified as "innovators" who have acted quickly to adopt new ideas and techniques. Others, the "responders," have waited to be

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shown, while still others, even after decades of demonstrated experience, cling resolutely to the outmoded. Changing human custom, say the planners, is the most unpredictable activity in which they engage, whether it consists of persuading a community to undertake needed reforms or a farmer to try new and better fertilizer practices. It is also a slow business.

POVERTY'S HABITS in the metropolitan centers of the nation are every bit as intractable. A decade ago, New Haven, Connecticut, began a vigorous effort to resist the awful urban blight that was spreading rapidly. Today, New Haven stands as a pioneer in urban renewal. But Mayor Richard Lee, who has led the renewal forces, denies vigorously that rebuilding the city physically was the most important problem. As the slums were cleared, Lee ran into indescribable conditions among what the sociologist euphemistically calls "multi-problem" families. They could not be helped merely by moving them away from their former misery. Many had been on the welfare rolls since the early 1930's. Second and third generations were growing up helpless to take their places in normal society.

New Haven's Community Progress, Inc., a combined public and private enterprise, found itself pulled into a widening range of rehabilitation. A "homemaking" program helps these social delinquents learn the elementals of family living so that they will not perpetuate slum conditions in new surroundings. Community schools accept a fuller educational role than one designed for children only, and adult literacy programs are facing up to the fact that it is not only immigrants who cannot read or write. Neighborhood employment centers bring job counseling to those who lack the imagination to venture afar. A massive campaign has been launched to reclaim high-school dropouts—a group, constituting forty-eight per cent of the young people from low-income neighborhoods, who have started on the vicious cycle of underprivilege.

What comes clear in New Haven's experience is that living has grown too complicated for a sizable number of those who dwell in the cities. The poverty risks, once they meet any kind of chance misfortune, lack the resources to recover from it. To get at their problems requires a variety of undertakings going far beyond a stepped-up program of public works or a fight for full employment. Mayor Lee, a dynamic salesman of his city's effort, argues emphatically: "You can't win the war against poverty with stirring slogans. You have got to have earthy people willing to take on the dirty work." A cheering part of the New Haven story has been its recruitment of outstanding civil servants who prefer this task to the lure of Washington.

It Will Be a Long War

The concerted effort at Federal, state, and local levels for which President Johnson is calling could inject government into social planning on a scale never before attempted. Inevitably, there will be outcries against such encroachment. But there is already encroachment of a different sort when individuals and whole communities can be buffeted with sudden fury by forces outside their control. There is the recent example of the shock with which South Side Chicago has endured in five years' time the loss of industries that employed fifty thousand workers and indirectly brought a livelihood to an estimated half a million. No city by itself can plan against such hazards, and it is regrettable that state government has been callous to metropolitan needs. As automation begins to have its mounting impact, the plight of those who were already technologically obsolete can only grow worse. There is every reason why government cannot ignore the people who, in Johnson's phrase, are living on "the outskirts of hope."

Not all the resistance can be expected from the Goldwater philosophers who still tend to equate poverty with God's judgment against the undeserving. The more subtle opposition will come from those coalitions—among bureaucrats, congressmen, and pressure groups—who would assert different priorities and who have the power and expertise to make themselves felt. Poverty has so far lacked a power base in Washington capable of sustaining its claims. As with foreign aid, there will be constant temptation to shift this program off target in order to win more immediate or more obvious political benefits. Dealing with underdeveloped people can be as baffling at home as abroad.

Will Johnson show the perseverance to keep his program on target? Though his activities to date are still largely at the propaganda stage, there are some promising signs. Despite his budget economies, he approved a more than twofold increase in funds for the Labor Department's Manpower Retraining Program, which is now getting into high gear. He has enthusiastically accepted the proposal to assist draft rejectees, who are a prime source of the nation's social and economic misfits. He is disposed to concentrate on youth while there is still time to eradicate poverty's awful heritage. He is reportedly determined to find new ways to break the impasse that has blocked Federal aid to education at the lower school levels.

According to those who have worked with him, the new President is anything but dogmatic about the way this war should be waged. He favors a variety of pilot projects, collaborating with governors like Terry Sanford of North Carolina and mayors like Richard Lee who show a willingness to take new initiatives. So far, there is a heated rivalry among Washington officials over how to set up the GHQ to direct this operation.

The war on poverty is going to demand experiment, not only in the programs themselves but in building political institutions capable of surviving the long haul. In Washington, it means forming a political coalition that will not be inclined to follow the line of least resistance. Outside Washington, it means finding the politicians and the public servants who are willing to take on what Mayor Lee calls the dirty work.

IN THIS YEAR'S report to the President, the Council of Economic Advisers suggested facetiously that $11 billion in direct handouts annually could raise the nation's poor to a minimum standard of living. Johnson's dilemma is whether his war can be waged with better economics and better politics.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

West Virginia: The First Front

WILLIAM FRANCOIS

THE WAR on poverty in America, unquestionably a major issue in this election year, could be said to have started here in West Virginia during the 1960 primary when John F. Kennedy took one of his first big strides toward the White House. The late President's program of aid to depressed areas began as an experiment in West Virginia in 1961, and the achievements and failures of these measures can now serve as a guide to the prospects of President Johnson's plans.

Within the rugged precincts of Appalachia, that mountainous area cutting across the borders of ten states from Pennsylvania to Alabama, more than a quarter of million coal miners have lost their jobs during the past decade, displaced by giant machines that dig coal faster and cheaper. Kentucky and Pennsylvania each have had more than sixty thousand unemployed miners, but West Virginia has been hit even harder. By the time President Kennedy took office, eighty thousand miners in the state had ended up on the human slag heap without a chance of finding work in their own communities. They and their dependents, numbering more than 250,000, were living a hand-to-mouth existence. No other state had suffered so much from changes in a single industry.

As he had promised during the campaign, President Kennedy made West Virginia the first test area for a series of legislative and administrative measures designed to attack "pockets of poverty." During the next three years, more than $100 million in Federal aid was poured into the state.

The state's most pressing problem in January, 1961, was to provide a bare subsistence level for thousands of hungry people. That winter, conditions were so bad that the West Virginia Welfare Council warned of a breakdown in health and morals. President Kennedy's first action was to double the surplus-food ration for the four hundred thousand—one out of every four West Virginians—receiving such help. Today 190,000 are eligible to receive this ration, although another thirty thousand people are currently linked as participants in the Federal food-stamp program. Incidentally, the food-stamp program was initiated in a West Virginia county in May, 1961, and soon spread to other parts of the United States. On a per capita basis, it costs three times as much as surplus foods, but it provides a more adequate level of subsistence. And

unlike recipients of surplus-food handouts, users of food stamps do not need to line up publicly for the monthly dole. They can shop in approved grocery stores.

One drawback in the larger commodity giveaway program is haphazard distribution. Once the food leaves state warehouses and arrives in the counties, distribution rests in the hands of small groups of volunteers. The job is too big for the number of volunteers, but somehow they manage to get it done. Despite such difficulties, the food program has at least wiped out the malnutrition that once was endemic in the mining districts.

THE three-year cost of increasing the quantity and variety of food was $45 million. This money was spent for straight relief; it did not find jobs for breadwinners. That problem was attacked by a companion program, the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961. Under it, two thousand men and women in the state have received job retraining, with seventy per cent job placement claimed by ARA officials. In addition, eighty projects had been approved by the end of 1963, including loans and grants for public facilities, technical assistance, and aid to industries. The total ARA outlay so far has been $36 million, and officials say that 7,300 jobs have been created in the state. Recently $4.5 million was earmarked for the state under the expanded Manpower Development and Training Act. About 2,500 men and women are to undergo retraining, but it's still too early to tell what impact MDTA will have on employment statistics.

In February, 1961, there were 95,200 jobless workers in the state. Last November the number stood at 47,300—quite an improvement at first glance. However, the shrinking labor force and the total job picture must be considered. During this period the labor force dropped from 632,000 to 584,000. Also, the number of available workers in the force who actually held jobs remained fairly constant: 547,600 at the end of 1960, 550,700 at the end of 1961, and about 536,000 at the end of both 1962 and 1963. And yet in his State of the State address a year ago, Governor W. W. Barron reported that 11,570 new jobs had been created since he took office in 1961.

Actually there is no discrepancy between the number of jobs created and the constant level of employment during the past three years. New industries and plants have opened; others have closed down. Some have expanded; others have cut their work forces. In other words, West Virginia has just about managed to hold its own during the past thirty-six months, and this is quite an accomplishment in view of the economic chaos in the coal fields.

Of course, the declining labor force shows that the migration of West Virginians is continuing. During the 1950's, 156,000 left their state to seek opportunity elsewhere. The exodus has not yet stopped, although R. R. Humphreys of Charleston, president of the United Mine Workers District 17, believes that it may be slowing down. "I think," said

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Humphreys, who once urged unemployed miners to leave the state if they could, "that we've finally hit bottom and that 1964 will be a little better than 1963." District 17 once had a membership of 42,000. By 1960-1961 the number had dropped to 15,000. Last year it reached what Humphreys hopes is bedrock—12,000. "I believe that this year we'll go back to 13,000," he said. Statistics already show that the number of working miners is increasing slightly.

WHILE the coal-mining areas have reeled under the impact of unemployment, pump priming has been most sucessful in the most prosperous areas. Public-works expenditures totaled almost $6 million last year. This, plus ARA and other Federal aid measures, helped to push personal incomes in the state to a record high of $3.1 billion. The gross state product soared to $4.1 billion—$309 million over 1960—and the economic health of the areas along the industrially rich Kanawha and Ohio River valleys has grown consistently stronger.

But except for outright relief—and this point will be noted by critics of the Johnson war on poverty—Federal aid has been slow to make any dent at all in the depressed areas. More than $100 million has been spent to erase the blight in these depressed areas, but thus far the only concrete results have been a few Federally subsidized plants with small payrolls and a better level of subsistence—which, of course, is well worth the added expenditure.

Under Secretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., accurately described the plight of Appalachia when he said recently, "There is no single program which would suddenly put a lot of people to work." What he hopes for is an Appalachian regional corporation, working jointly with nine states, that will develop various programs within a master plan. The principal proposal so far is a 2,500-mile network of roads to end the isolation caused by the mountain barriers.

There are still plenty of pockets of poverty in Appalachia. Perhaps they will finally disappear only when the poor walk out of them—as they have been doing for more than ten years.

Draft Rejectees: Nipping Trouble in the Bud

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

NOTHING was more natural than for President Johnson to seize the issue of poverty and put it first on the nation's agenda. The desperate human problems brought on by the depression were at the center of national concern when he first entered politics in the 1930's. Just as important is the fact that under President Kennedy one of the most important assignments the Vice-President undertook was that of chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. For two and a half years he struggled with the question of Negro unemployment, surely the grimmest manifestation of poverty in the United States today, and saw it grow ominous and explosive as the issue came more and more to be defined in terms of racial conflict.

The White House staff is now preparing a general message on poverty and the President will send it to the Congress this month. But Mr. Johnson's war on poverty has already begun on a number of points. Planning for the Appalachian program is well advanced, and many specific efforts are already under way. On a nationwide scale the most important step taken by the President has been his announcement on January 5 that as soon as possible all out-of-school eighteen-year-old youths will be examined immediately upon registering for the draft. The object will not be to learn who *is* qualified for military service, but to find out who is *not*.

THE Selective Service rejectee program has revealed just how complex and extensive the problem of poverty is turning out to be. It is also a good example of how to use old institutions for new purposes, a method that will be indispensable if the war on poverty is to succeed. The rejectee program had its origins in a routine announcement last summer that half the draftees called for pre-induction examinations in 1962 had been found unqualified. Fifty per cent? Something had to be wrong either with the statistic or the country. On September 30 President Kennedy appointed a task force of Secretary of Defense McNamara, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Celebrezze, Director of the

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Selective Service System Lieutenant General Hershey, and Secretary of Labor Wirtz as chairman; they were given ninety days to find out what was going on.

The fifty per cent figure turned out to be high, but not by very much. Because draftees usually have had to wait a long time before being called up, their average age at their pre-induction examinations had drifted up to twenty-two or twenty-three. By the time they were that far into their twenties many young men had already enlisted or entered officer training, so that the remaining group had more than a proportionate share of unqualified persons. The Presidential task force determined that if the examinations were given to everyone at the age of eighteen, a third of the young men would be found unqualified on the basis of standards set for military service. About half of the rejectees would fail the education test, half the physical. These standards have not substantially changed since the Second World War, although the education test has been notched up slightly so that the passing point is nearer to an eighth-grade schooling than to a seventh-grade one.

The lowest third turned out to be concentrated to an unsettling degree in certain parts of the nation, nearly absent in others. Thus, in Minnesota 2.7 per cent of the young men failed the Selective Service education test in 1962, while in South Carolina the rate was 51.8 per cent. Surprisingly, the education-test failure rate among whites in New York, New Jersey, and New England was more than twice that of the Appalachian States. Clearly, the statistics did not fit all the stereotypes about which areas of the country were doing well or badly. The task force proposed that future rejection rates be published in much finer detail, with the expectation that they will prove an important indicator of education and health standards at the community as well as the state and army-command level.

A Better Birthright

The task force had accepted from the outset the hypothesis that "A young man who does not have what it takes to perform military service is not likely to have what it takes to make a living." Last November, 2,500 men who had recently failed the education test were interviewed at length by counselors of the United States Employment Service. Thirty-one per cent turned out not to have jobs, four times the rate nationally for men of the same age group. Among the eighteen-year-olds in the sample, the rate was forty-two per cent.

Of those who had worked during 1962, more than a fourth worked only half the year or less. They had jobs of little promise and low pay, three out of every four being in unskilled, semiskilled, or service occupations. One out of three had an annual income of less than $1,000; they averaged $1,850. Four out of every five were high-school dropouts. Two out of five had dropped out of school to support their families or themselves, an aspect of the dropout problem that may not be widely enough acknowledged.

There was obviously a pattern of inherited poverty. If the young men were unemployed, so were their fathers. A third came from homes broken by divorce or separation. A fifth of their families had received public assistance during the past five years. If they had little education, their parents had less.

One set of statistics was especially disturbing: forty-seven per cent of the education rejectees came from families of six or more children. Only eleven per cent of the population as a whole comes from such families, probably even a smaller percentage of the 18-23 age group.

Differences between Negroes and whites largely disappear in these lower depths. As a general rule, unemployment rates for Negroes are twice as high as those for whites, whatever the age or occupation group. But not at the bottom of the heap, where the rate for Negroes was a bare three percentage points higher than that for whites.

The task force's study of physical rejectees was no less disturbing. It developed that three-quarters of those rejected for medical and physical deficiencies would probably benefit from treatment, but apparently that most were not getting any. A New York City sample showed fifty-seven per cent of the physical rejectees to be indigent or medically indigent. (3.5 per cent of them were drug addicts.) So the pattern of poverty persisted.

Even before the task force made its inquiry, the rate of youth unemployment was unmistakably on its way to becoming a major social issue. In June the rate among male teenagers reached twenty-one per cent, a postwar record. At the same time the Federal government was having difficulty finding the persons most able to benefit from the vocational education and rehabilitation programs that the Kennedy administration had got under way. It was discovered that during the first year of the Manpower Development and Training program two-thirds of the trainees had been high-school graduates, whereas two-thirds of the unemployed were dropouts. In other words, many of those who needed help most were not getting it.

The Invisible Indigents

Standard national statistics, however detailed, are inevitably derived from samples. Washington faced the fact that it had numbers but no names. A generation ago Franklin D. Roosevelt was able to say, "I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished." By the 1960's, poverty had not disappeared but it had somehow become less visible.

In this context, the unique potential of Selective Service soon became apparent. Here was an established system that could provide a screen through which every young male would pass, to be measured by the same national yardstick. With no new legislation, no additional government employees, and only a slight increase in expenditures, Selective Service could locate by name and address the half million and more men turning eighteen each year who, in large measure and for whatever the reasons, do not have the education and the health that are needed to make them effective citizens and productive workers in the United States today.

President Johnson saw the opportunity and seized it. Upon receiving the task-force report *One Third of a Nation,* he directed that arrangements be made for all out-of-school young men to be examined promptly upon registration at the age of eighteen. (This, incidentally, was clearly intended by the draft law

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

anyway.) Early examination will not mean early induction; there is to be no change in the present practice of calling older registrants before younger ones. But for those found disqualified, early examination will provide an immediate opportunity to confront their situation, and take advantage of opportunities to do something about it.

The program will be voluntary, and will depend heavily on local community participation. Medical rejectees will be referred to their doctors or community health services, with as clear a description as possible of the conditions for which they were rejected. Previously, even persons with acute disorders were simply told they were 4-F.

Education rejectees will be referred directly to Manpower Conservation units to be established in the local offices of the United States Employment Service. The Departments of Labor and of Health, Education and Welfare are at work on plans for interviewing and directing the great numbers of rejectees who will shortly be turning up. (1.4 million male youths will turn eighteen in 1964, 1.9 million the year after.) The task-force survey indicated that eighty per cent of the education rejectees needed basic literacy and vocational training or counseling. An overwhelming proportion expressed their desire to enter such programs. Congress has greatly expanded the vocational education and training activities sponsored by the Federal government, and the prospect is that at least a sizable number of those who need services of this kind will get them. As Secretary Wirtz has noted, in the past three months Congress has passed more vocational legislation than it had in the previous thirty years. The programs are there; the next and in many ways the most important job is to see that the people who most need them actually benefit from them.

"I WISH to see an America," the President has said, "in which no young person, whatever the circumstances, shall reach the age of twenty-one without the health, education, and skills that will give him an opportunity to be an effective citizen and a self-supporting individual." He has made the first move.

AT HOME & ABROAD

Ted Sorensen of Nebraska

WILLIAM LEE MILLER

DURING the Kennedy years I would feel a little jolt from time to time when I would see, conferring with the President and the National Security Council in Hyannisport, or advising Harvard advisers in the White House, or sitting there in Palm Beach in the midst of the Irish Mafia—Ted Sorensen of the University of Nebraska YMCA. We all have difficulty bringing our memories up to date and allowing sufficiently for life's changes in others; I remember an older woman in California, who apparently had known Richard Bissell of the CIA in his childhood, speaking this memorable line after the Bay of Pigs: "Imagine! Dickie Bissell invading Cuba!" I felt a little that way about Sorensen when he was writing the State of the Union message or helping the President decide about the missile crisis; what I most clearly remember him doing is playing Ping-Pong (though it must be added, he *was* a very good player).

But in Sorensen's case there was another element in the momentary surprise: his background was strikingly different from that of his boss and of the other advisers. This difference makes all the more remarkable the deep temperamental and intellectual affinity that developed. One would scarcely have predicted, in the fall of 1952, that the young senator-elect from Massachusetts would come to rely as centrally as he did upon the man whom he then hired, after two brief meetings, to be his legislative assistant. Sorensen was not only very young and new to Washington; he was also not a Harvard man or an Easterner or a Catholic or an Irishman or a hereditary Democrat or a political middler or culturally sophisticated or rich or an aristocrat or an urbanite or an intellectual dilettante or widely traveled or weak on the civil-liberties side or primarily interested in the Why England Slept type of foreign affairs or a master of the Ivy League casual style or anything at all of a playboy. He was instead, insofar as these things have opposites, somewhere near the opposite of all of them. It is notable, for example, that the special counsel, speechwriter, and closest adviser to the first Roman Catholic President of the United States was himself a distinct Unitarian, coming from that midwestern Unitarianism that is marked by its self-conscious rejection, in the name of Reason and Freedom, of orthodoxy. The passages from the President's speeches read at the Requiem Mass reflected a humanism

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at least as compatible with the speechwriter's formal religious background as with that of the dead President.

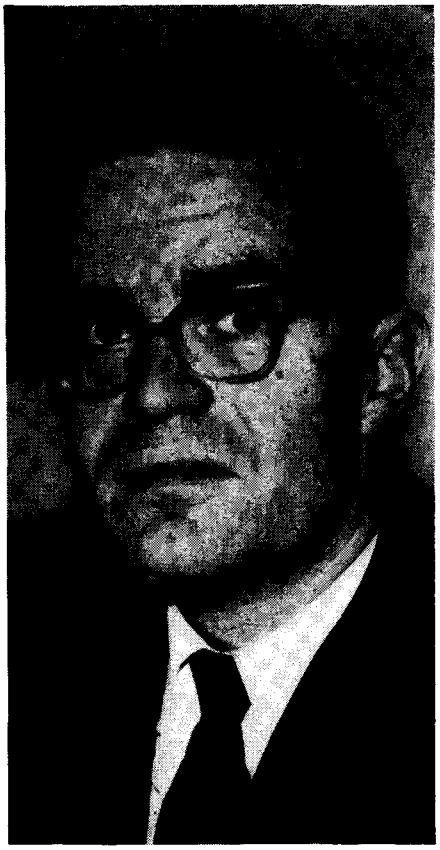
Also, Sorensen was never in the armed services, and had no part of the camaraderie, dash, and style of the men who served in the Second World War, supposedly so important in the young men of the New Frontier. In fact, Sorensen, whose parents had an anti-militarist streak and whose former wife is a Quaker, had youthful bouts of pacifism and had registered as a noncombatant (somebody in Goldwater's office discovered this at one point, and there was a brief flurry about it).

SORENSEN's father had been a Republican, of the progressive kind that was possible in Nebraska in his generation. One of the reasons the older Sorensen was not a Democrat was that the party in the state was run by routine Irish politicians built very much, one would suppose, on the order of Mr. Kennedy's two grandfathers.

Ted Sorensen remained a teetotaler well into his Kennedy years, and there are funny Washington stories about the terrible tortures of parched politicians coming to confer with him at the cocktail hour; he has not been a notable consumer of the spirits upon which, among other things, his boss's family fortune was based. Neither has he been a big party man, either of the dunking-in-swimming-pools or the Casals-concert variety. One feature of the post-Kennedy Washington is a certain wistfulness on the social-cultural and "Camelot" side, about the gay, gilded glamour of the handsome young President and the handsome young wife, and the party at Mount Vernon and concerts and sophistication and good taste and fun; the two great words in post-assassination interpretations—"style" and "excellence"—both have strong overtones of this non-business and cultural part of Kennedy's Washington. Ted Sorensen does not connect with that. One would not think of the word "style," in the now standard Kennedy sense, to describe him. And though the word "excellence" certainly does fit, the excellences primarily in question are not the extra-political ones. Sorensen was the quintessence of the New Frontier in its daytime or business hours.

Sorensen not only grew up in Nebraska but also stayed on there both for college and for law school. He had only a brief eighteen months in lowly Washingon jobs between leaving Lincoln in 1951 and joining Kennedy in the winter of 1952-1953. There were no real digressions or intermediate stages; his life, to this day, consists simply of the two parts, Nebraska and Kennedy.

THE SORENSENS came campaigning from the womb; there never was a more political family, nor one more explicit in its liberalism. They were a political family in an unpolitical environment, and a liberal family in a conservative environment, made more distinct and intense in both by the contrast. They were very unusual Nebraskans.



As Nebraska has not liked Boston —"the East" (snobbish, effete, and unfeeling), Harvard, the city, intellectuals, Catholics, Yankees—so it has also not liked Washington—politics, government, collective action, social manipulation and reform. If one looks at the less desirable Nebraska characters in Willa Cather's novels (to take her as a convenient Nebraska bench mark), one can see part of the reason; after the pioneers there come the narrow, thin-blooded and commercially minded small town folk, like Bayliss Wheeler in *One of Ours* and Ivy Peters in *A Lost Lady,* from whom one certainly cannot expect a sympathetic imagination about complicated social problems. But if one looks at Miss Cather's heroes and heroines, or at Miss Cather herself, one can see the other part of the reason: these virtuous people do not have that kind of an imagination, either. Their ideals have to do with sturdy independence, closeness to nature, strength of character, heroic individual accomplishment, the "tranquil center of life." In other words, neither Nebraska as it ordinarily is nor Nebraska at its older and ideal best is a likely place in which to find high political art—and especially not for the modern urban world. (A Nebraska senator right now is confidently predicting that Goldwater will have no trouble in the primary there, since he speaks the local language.)

Miss Cather herself came in from Red Cloud to Lincoln, and thence to the East, broadening her cultural horizons enormously, and connecting a pioneer's strength with a high personal ideal of art—but she surely never came to like politics. In her novel *The Professor's House* there is a brief passage about Washington that is filled with contempt: the place, to her eyes, is a beehive of rude and anxious manipulation over the unimportant, and of unconcern for what is lastingly important; what she describes sounds, however, if you allow for the disdain in the Nebraskan beholder's eye, very much like the Washington of the New Frontier, and like the politics to which the Sorensens took as ducks to water.

The Sorensen family, unlike everybody else we knew in that setting, was extraordinarily and rather exclusively concerned with public affairs; the house was filled with magazines, and with talk about the George Norris campaigns the father had run. Brother Tom used to give Ted quizzes, to test his knowledge of Attorneys-General and the Sher-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man Anti-Trust Act. Their liberalism was clear and unmistakable; it would certainly not be said of Ted, as James MacGregor Burns says of Kennedy, that there was an early weakness in the civil-liberties part of his liberalism. I remember Ted and me agreeing, in a course we took, that the point of view of Parrington's *Main Currents of American Thought* was very much what we believed; while Harvard students would have been getting a sophisticated debunking of that vulnerable trilogy, we were swallowing its naïve Western progressivism whole. Sorensen's older brother Tom and I were in a group that subscribed to the New York newspaper *PM*—probably about the only subscribers in the state; we were lonely Nebraska outpost members of ADA, corresponding rather pathetically with national headquarters about the desperate need for the organization in such a place as ours. It makes a curious echo now to record that, nearly twenty years ago, we formed a Lincoln chapter of CORE; we managed to get the municipal swimming pool integrated; we tried to have what would now doubtless be called a skate-in at a local roller-skating rink; we attacked the gentleman's-agreement exclusion of Negroes from a new housing development and the non-inclusion of Negroes in the, as it then was, Big Six football league and the university dormitories.

In particular, I remember Ted Sorensen testifying before a committee of the unicameral state legislature in behalf of the state FEPC we were vainly trying to persuade it to pass. I remember also that a number of us wrote angry High-Injustice Civil-Rights letters answering some statements the dean of the university made in the argument over the dormitories and football, and that Sorensen's letter was unmistakably the best—shorter, clearer, less overtly passionate but more to the point and effective. Washington people tell me that this aspect of Sorensen's past was pretty well subordinated in the Kennedy years; the enthusiastic young advocate of justice in U. S. racial relations in 1947 would be exclusively concerned with his boss's future in 1957, treating the Senate civil-rights struggle of that year strictly from the tactical angle of the double strike with Southerners and Negroes that the Kennedy forces hoped to make (and did make) in the 1960 convention and election. They say, in general, that Sorensen's liberal beginnings were really not very visible. Maybe not.

THE POINT I am making was that Sorensen differed markedly from Kennedy; the question now comes: why, then, did the working relationship become so close? The answer is, I think, that they had a similar temperament and intelligent-practical relationship to the world.

But many accidental features underlay the connection. Mr. Kennedy's assignments and choices could be made in a quick, casual, intuitive way, but then the test of achievement could be severe. "They toss you the ball once," said a high Kennedy worker during the campaign, "and if you drop it, that's it for you."

Sorensen was tossed the ball at the time when Kennedy, moving up from the House to the larger world of the Senate, needed an intellectual-legislative worker, and Sorensen carried the ball. He would appear to be an absolutely ideal legislative assistant—anonymous, knowledgeable, quick, extremely hard-working, completely devoted—and doubtless he would have become valuable to any sensible man who hired him. All assistants to eminence speak in reverent capital letters mildly annoying to the outsider, about The Governor or The Senator or The President, and although Ted had a slightly less inflated language, he had otherwise a virulent form of this vice; the single-mindedness of his devotion to the advancement of Kennedy would often bring one up short. The Sorensen family seemed to me to have not exactly a hero worship but a dramatized and enthusiastic view of great public leaders—Senator Norris being the family example—that Theodore Sorensen carried over to Kennedy; his share of the family's high social idealism and notion of public service got linked to this man.

Then there was another ingredient, more typical of the Nebraska environment and quite compatible also with what one gathers about the Kennedy family: a very strong personally competitive and ambitious by-golly-I'm-going-to-be-somebody streak. The Sorensen form of this was tied to the unusual field of social service and public affairs, but it was certainly there, and in Theodore Sorensen it found a peculiarly anonymous and subordinate but still powerful expression through promoting his man Kennedy.

And there was also in the Sorensens, before any of them had met a Kennedy, a strong dose of what we now call pragmatism. Tom, I remember, demolished with a few swift realistic strokes my youthful inclination to support Norman Thomas. The family was as notable for hard-headed political savvy as for liberalism; Sorensen already had in him, before he met Kennedy, the two ingredients he was later to name —liberalism and pragmatism—as identifying the political outlook he shared with his boss. It may well be that he had both of them first.

WHEN Sorensen had achieved his high post, some journalists and Washington hands who would grant to him as a matter of course the rather unsatisfactory word "brilliant" would also speak quite critically of his "arrogance," and give blood-chilling examples. One criticism from the early days of the administration said, "Sorensen regards Kennedy as his work of art." Even before the election, a New York *Times* treatment of him as the "Man in the News" quoted an unnamed politician as saying, "He is one of the toughest and most ruthless people I have ever dealt with—insulting, belittling, condescending." It is true that the streak of personal ambition that I mentioned, and also the realism, could have a blunt expression. Also, Sorensen developed a considerable taciturnity and caution about publicity; he may not have had much to say to reporters, except to defend Kennedy against all comers; that may have made him seem abrupt in that garrulous world. His abilities are not of the visible kind that would be evident in interviews with "observers" of the Washington scene; rather they have been most appreciated by more closely trained people who go into something in detail. A student of

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Presidency said, after Palm Beach meetings before the inauguration, that Sorensen was the one man, head and shoulders above the rest, who saw what should be done; a high Washington economist says that Sorensen is about the most intelligent man he ever met.

The two externally quite different men who came together in 1953 had a very similar internal composition, a matching mental and temperamental form that came to coincide more and more through the years. They were both dry, deflationary, objective, factual, quietly witty, analytical, intellectually well organized. One notices a terse selective quality in Sorensen's speech, which Kennedy in his press conferences had, too. The voice drops at the end of a quiet answer, giving it a negative, deflating lack of emphasis. There is more in this than a manner; there is a sensibility, too; there is a disinclination to bombast and a quietly alert sorting out from the empty covering rhetoric and the distorting emotion, of the factual nub of the matter.

SORENSEN has the combination—characteristic also of Kennedy, it seemed to me—of a knowledge of facts, with no inclination to be a bore, with a great ability to simplify and get to the point. As Kennedy did not ramble, so Sorensen does not ramble. In the Senate days, Sorensen could tell you, if you wanted to know, all about the New England economy or about the formulas that different bills would use to distribute Federal aid to the schools of the states. ("There's this bill by Senator Hill, that gives the funds by the number of the state's schoolchildren *squared;* what we can't figure out is—why *squared?*") But he was not a dull legal technician; he would not tell you more facts about the legislative penguins than you wanted to know. "Do you want me to go into detail?" he once asked—it was about the amendments for an Electoral College reform, I think—and, on being told ungraciously "No," he said with a wry smile that people never go into detail.

Sorensen certainly appeared then to be much more than Kennedy's "speechwriter" or "rhetorician"; he seemed more nearly his intellectual collaborator and, as the current political-science jargon might put it, his co-decision-maker. He did write the balanced, inverted, and alliterative sentences, with their rhymes and parallelisms, and with their (to me it seems) rather mechanical scattering of quotations from the Great, of which so much has been made; but are these as distinctive, or as important, as has been said? Those devices are all rather familiar in writing for oral delivery, especially of the political speeches in which plain distinctions, memorable contrasts, and repeated applause lines

are desired. Sorensen just made more insistent the constant use of these rather prosaic speechwriting devices than most speechwriters would dare to do. His book, made from academic lectures, does not use them much; his own 1961 speech in McCook, Nebraska, however, is full of them, almost to the point of self-parody. But Sorensen was also, and more importantly, the main participant in the decisions in and behind and around the speeches. Sorensen was the first and most eager seeker of a Kennedy Vice-Presidential nomination in the 1956 convention; he produced the so-called Bailey memorandum explaining that a Catholic candidate could have advantages; he was the center of the Kennedy Presidential campaign until the famous meeting of the Kennedy strategists in the fall of 1959, after which Robert Kennedy took over. As to legislative substance, when I asked Sorensen once in the 1950's how a senator makes up his mind, and who influences him, he had to say that in the case of his senator, other senators and the constituency and the party were not so important as the analysis by his legislative assistants. During the White House years, Sorensen's chores included not only the language but also the substance of the domestic legislative program in the big January speeches, and in the others, too; and, in crisis situations, at least, he was involved in the foreign-policy decisions, too.

Sorensen rejects—with some passion—the notion that Kennedy was lacking in passionate conviction. However, when he lets fall his praises for his dead boss, it is the quick, objective, emotionally unimpeded intelligence that he likes. Other advisers say that Kennedy, a speedy mind and one easily bored, would see how one of his own sentences was coming out, and wouldn't bother to finish it; Sorensen would know what it would be.

THE ASSASSINATION came just before Sorensen's peak period of work (although his work has always appeared to have nothing but peak periods). He had to keep on going, with his emotional back broken by the loss of his chief, and with additional extra jobs that event put upon him, to compose balanced and alliterative sentences for the speeches of the new President. He did the first draft of the State of the Union message, and spent Christmas with his sons at Johnson City working over the successive drafts. Perhaps the new President, suddenly come into the office, had to turn to the key assistant of his predecessor for that particular touching-all-bases task, from sheer necessity. But there has been more reliance, and certainly more praise, than sheer necessity would have required. It is notable and rather touching that Sorensen was also given the first and major role in composing Mr. Johnson's very first Presidential address, back on that gloomy Wednesday when we still could not quite believe he was President. And Johnson has gone out of his way to praise Sorensen: "a man with judgment and conformation"; "my trusted counselor and adviser"; "Only a President can know" how valuable he is. Sorensen, on his side, feels affirmative toward Johnson, and gets along well with him. Nevertheless, the strong link had to be with the President who is dead. On February 29, the man who was "almost a lobe of Kennedy's mind" will leave the White House to write his book about the sadly truncated political career.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PROGRESS REPORT TO U.S. INDUSTRY FROM THE COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The happiest years of my life"

(Pablo Casals talks about his 6 years in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico)

AT THE AGE of 80, Pablo Casals decided to make his home in Puerto Rico.

Here is what he said at the time—on his first visit to this sunny Commonwealth in the Caribbean:

> *"The first time I was aware I was alive, I heard the sound of the sea. Before, I would have said that the most beautiful sea was the one I had in front of my house in Spain. But I must confess that the sea I am looking at now is even more beautiful. The natural thing that occurs to me is to make Puerto Rico my home and do for this country everything within my power."*

Pablo Casals has done exactly that. Now—at 86—this world-famous cellist, conductor and composer is one of the Commonwealth's most energetic residents.

The Casals Festival, organized in 1957, has become an annual event in Puerto Rico.

The presence of Pablo Casals on the island led to the formation of the Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra. He also helped establish the Commonwealth Conservatory of Music.

A man at peace with himself

Here's how Pablo Casals speaks of his six years in Puerto Rico.

"They have been the happiest years of my life. Living in this house by the sea, I am at peace. I devote myself to my work. The routine of my days is both pleasurable and constant. I get up at 7 o'clock in the morning for a walk on the beach. Walking on the beach, I look at the sea and sky and I am renewed in my feeling of awe and joy over the wonder of nature.

> *"Here in Puerto Rico, I sense a freedom of spirit, a respect for the dignity of man."*

What of the future? Pablo Casals answers without hesitating. "I shall stay here in Puerto Rico and make music, which is my life."

This is one of a series of reports to U. S. industry on the economic and cultural development of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Manufacturers: Write for "Puerto Rico '63," a report on productivity, profits and special incentives. The address: Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Dept. 103K, 666 Fifth Ave., N. Y., N. Y. 10019.

◀ **Pablo Casals** takes his regular morning stroll on the beach in front of his house in Puerto Rico. Photo by Tom Hollyman.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Italian Tightrope Act

CLAIRE STERLING

ROME

SURPRISINGLY, the opening to the Left seems to be working out very well here. Despite the presence of the left-wing neutralist Socialists, Premier Aldo Moro's new coalition is behaving no less responsibly at home and a good deal more warmly toward the West than some of its predecessors. The Socialists, now that they are actually sitting in the cabinet, grow more compliant day by day. Their troublesome extremist minority has conveniently gone off to join the Communists in the opposition. Conveniently also, the Communists are opposing the government just enough to identify it as anti-Communist, but not enough to endanger its survival. For the three democratic parties involved, the operation is coming off without a hitch.

Such isn't the case for the Socialists, however. In joining Moro's government, they appear to have lost all their ideological bearings, along with a good-sized chunk of their membership. In their present state of confusion, there is no telling whether they can find the fortitude to go on with the experiment, and if so, how many of them can, for how long.

It had been assumed that the Socialists would have a hard time of it when and if they decided to join forces with the democrats. Except for a brief postwar interlude, since their party was founded at the end of the nineteenth century the Socialists have refused to take part in any government and for much of the time have worked closely with the Communists. Between them, these two Marxist parties have had a near-monopoly on the working-class vote —the Socialists polling 4.2 million votes, and the Communists 7.7 million—and have so accustomed the workers to think of the government as the enemy that not even the Socialists' presence in it would be apt to change their minds.

Socialist leaders like Pietro Nenni have long realized the sterility of this position. But most of Nenni's followers have found it extremely difficult to swallow the idea of collaborating with the bourgeois democratic parties—and vice versa. Had it not been for the lack of any other workable majority in the last parliament, the two sides might never have come together. As it was, they waited until nearly the end of the 1962 session before making a cautious trial run: a center-left coalition of Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, and Republicans, supported in parliament by the Socialists. Only now, some ten years after Nenni first broached the subject, are all the parties concerned prepared to try the real thing.

THERE IS still no real agreement among these parties, not to speak of their multiple factions, concerning their precise objectives in the opening to the Left. The more conservative Christian Democratic leaders, for instance, want nothing less than a clean break between the Socialists and their old allies, isolating the biggest Communist Party in Western Europe. In the middle are democrats (Christian Democrats and others) who would settle for a government which, without necessarily isolating the Communists, might relieve the class tensions Communism thrives on. On the Left are those (also Christian Democrats and others) whose main purpose is to move leftward at full steam with the help of any parties available—not excluding, eventually, a "democratized" Communist Party. Finally, there are the Socialists who, whether they want to isolate the Communists or not—some do, some don't—want above all to "leave their ghetto," as Nenni puts it, so as to put their own imprint on Italy's quickly developing capitalist economy.

Not all the Socialists agree on even that much. A sizable group led by Riccardo Lombardi has gone along with Nenni under protest, demanding a much more socialist program than the democratic parties are willing to concede; about half of the party's forty per cent minority has submitted to party discipline but expressed total disapproval; and the other half, preferring to remain in the ghetto until the whole working class can come out in a body, Communists included, has refused to go along at all. Accusing the majority of class treason, these intransigents have broken away to form their own Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, throwing left-wing circles into utter disarray.

Homeless Rebels

While the split was an act of providence to some democrats' way of thinking, it has been a stunning shock for the Socialist rank and file. Privately, Nenni may have been glad to see the rebels go. With the amputation of the party's most intractable pro-Communists, Lombardi has lost his strategic position as arbiter between the two wings. Nenni himself is much freer—more than anyone had expected him to be so early in the game—to do what the democrats have always hoped he would do: fuse with the moderate Social Democrats in a kind of Italian Labor Party. At this stage, however, most Socialist Party workers would still be appalled by that prospect. Filled with misgivings in their unfamiliar political surroundings and by no means certain yet of who is right or wrong, they would be much happier to have the rebels return. Lombardi is determined to get them back, and the Communist Party is desperately anxious to be rid of them.

Actually, not all the Communists agree on this point. One Communist faction thinks Moro's government is intolerably dangerous and must be brought down at all costs. Speaking for this group, the editors of *L'Unità* have frankly incited the Socialist minority to rebellion. For Communist General Secretary Palmiro Togliatti, however, the rebellion was a "misfortune" to be sincerely deplored. Having labored for decades to project his party's image as a benignly democratic progressive force, Togliatti is not the man to pit the Communists openly against the "other" democratic masses. Nor, with a younger Communist generation longing to kick the party's comfortable bourgeois traces, can he afford to have an inflexibly revolutionary "Chinese" Socialist Party—one, in-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deed, that is reportedly getting money from Red China—filling the empty space on his own party's Left. Moreover, he could use the Socialist rebels much more profitably if they were back in Nenni's ranks.

Togliatti has said publicly that he finds the Moro center-left government a lot worse for the Communists than the last one headed by Amintore Fanfani, who had made important concessions to the far Left in foreign policy. But while the Moro program is sufficiently pro-western and anti-Communist to outrage the Socialist and Communist extremists, it is also ambivalent enough to leave room for maneuver. By walking out, Togliatti reasons, the Socialist insurgents have lost much of their power—and his—to influence the Socialist majority. On the other hand, if he could count on a formidable opposition within the Socialist Party, driving relentlessly at its own cabinet ministers for a "militant" interpretation of the program, he might have a fighting chance to modify and perhaps neutralize the government's attitude.

ADMITTEDLY, he doesn't have a very promising cabinet to work on. The Christian Democratic Premier Moro is deeply committed to this experiment but is appreciably more prudent than Fanfani. Sixteen of his twenty-six cabinet ministers are also Christian Democrats, only three of whom—in minor positions, at that—come from all the left-wing Catholic factions, Fanfani's included. (The former premier has refused to sit in the cabinet.) The foreign affairs minister is the Social Democratic leader Giuseppe Saragat, who is committed to the western alliance. The defense minister, Giulio Andreotti, was renamed for the post at the specific request of NATO officials. The interior minister, Paolo Taviani, is a stalwart anti-Communist; and three of the four key economic ministries are in similar hands. The fourth, the budget ministry, has gone to Antonio Giolitti, a young Socialist acting as surrogate for Lombardi (who also refused to sit in the cabinet). Apart from Giolitti, the Socialists have only five posts, diminishing in importance from the vice-premiership (Nenni) to public works, health, scientific research, and tourism.

The pronouncedly cautious character of this cabinet is underlined by the absence of Lombardi and Fanfani, both of whom appear to consider it a "parenthesis," to use Fanfani's word, in political life here. The real center-left government will come later, they imply, after Moro's government has demonstrated its utter inability to get anywhere with the working class and the Socialist Party has thus been brought to its senses. They may not be far wrong.

Moro could not have formed his cabinet without giving certain guarantees to the Christian Democrats' conservatives without whose support his own party, instead of the Socialist Party, might be split in two today. The conservatives had set three conditions: unbroken continuity in Italy's pro-western foreign policy, a clear ideological condemnation of Communism, and the preservation of Italy's free-market capitalist struc-

ture. Given the choice of taking or leaving it, the Socialists took it. But the fact that this government has been made so safe for the democrats has certainly reduced its chances of survival.

The crucial battle during December's tense negotiations was not fought on a program—where basic differences could be glossed over in carefully chosen words—but on the men who would be responsible for applying it. Since the Socialists have suffered a humiliating defeat, Nenni is more vulnerable than ever to his left-wing critics, and Lombardi is more skeptical. Unless their cabinet ministers can get more out of the program than the inexperienced Giolitti is likely to get, the Socialists face the prospect of systematic erosion, with one splinter group after another dropping away and/or joining the Proletarian Unity Party. If the day should come when Lombardi goes too, not even the infinite patience that Moro has put into forming his cabinet might be enough to save it.

A Patchwork Program

It is only with outward confidence, therefore, that the cabinet has settled down to work. There is a great deal to do. The program runs to forty-five pages, covering an immense range of subjects: the civil service, social security, education, scientific research, labor, tax, and corporation laws, the stock market, the civil and penal codes, women's rights, agriculture, housing, the south, the growth and redistribution of national income, town planning, economic planning, and so on. Many provisions have wide support, but the frailty of this lengthy verbal compromise shows through clearly in any of a dozen places.

For instance, there is the controversial question of the regions called for in the constitution, only three of which have been established so far. The democrats have refused to authorize the rest since 1946, fearing that they would fall into the hands of Socialist-Communist coalitions. The present program undertakes to set up the remaining regions, on the understanding that the Socialist Party will not form such coalitions afterward. But since a Socialist group did just that in the Val d'Aosta region while the matter was being negotiated in Rome, the negotiators did not specify when they would actually present a bill on the regions during parliament's new five-year term.

The failure to fix that date has a direct bearing on another sensitive point. The Socialists' biggest triumph in drawing up the program was the inclusion of a town-planning law, providing for generalized expropriation of all building land around urban centers. The provision is much more moderate than the one originally proposed by the left-wing Christian Democrat Fiorentino Sull (who also refused to sit in this cabinet) and endorsed by Lombardi: it not only fixes a reasonable price for compensation and permits private repurchase through public auctions, but also exempts landowners from expropriation providing they build houses instead of holding on to their real

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

estate for speculative purposes. Except in the biggest cities, however, even this limited expropriation cannot go into effect under the program until the regions are set up to administer it. Several other provisions are no less equivocal, but while some issues might perhaps be put off for years, that is not the case for either foreign or economic policy.

THE DIFFICULTY of formulating a common foreign policy for a coalition in which three parties are pro-western and one is neutralist may easily be imagined. Even in phrasing the preamble, several hours of heated debate went into deciding whether Italy should be "faithful" or merely "loyal" to the Atlantic Alliance. The democrats settled for "loyal" on condition that the loyalty must be not just to the Atlantic Alliance as such but to the "political and military obligations deriving from it." The Socialists settled for *that,* provided the military obligations would not include unqualified support for NATO's multilateral force. While conceding that last year's endorsement of the force by the Fanfani cabinet was valid, they got in exchange a promise that any final NATO decision on the subject would have to be ratified by the Italian parliament—where, since their party platform officially binds them to oppose the multilateral force, they will presumably vote against it. (Lombardi would be morally obliged to, at any rate, since he wrote the provision into his party's platform.)

As a strong supporter both of NATO's multilateral force and Italy's center-left government, Foreign Minister Saragat has therefore been given the choice of either backing down on the one or destroying the other, for Moro's government would fall in twenty-four hours if the Socialists were to vote against a NATO decision in parliament. Undaunted so far, Saragat has gone right ahead by endorsing a proposal for an experimental mixed crew during his recent visit to Washington. Ultimately, however, salvation would seem to lie only in the inability of other NATO countries to make up their minds about the multilateral force—a not altogether insubstantial prospect, but not a very reassuring one.

Assuming that the cabinet will be spared any other calamities such as an American request for the use of Italian bases for Polaris submarines, an American reconciliation with de Gaulle, or an American-British-French *Directoire,* all of which are anathema to the Socialists, there remains the problem of economic policy. With the Italian economy in serious trouble, the four parties have put off the long-term measures most liable to strain their ideological convictions; all proposed structural changes are grouped under the heading of a five-year plan starting in 1965 which, symptomatically, will be coercive for state-owned industries but not for the private sector. For the present emergency, they have agreed on a series of urgently needed measures to control inflationary prices, reduce a galloping trade deficit, and regain an economic vitality that has been draining away for nearly two years. What these measures really boil down to is an austerity program designed to contain prices, profits, consumption, and wages until economic equilibrium is restored. If it is doubtful that the industrialists will co-operate in this scheme, it is beyond question that the workers—those under Togliatti's control, at any rate—will not.

Nenni's Predicament

On the day the Moro cabinet was sworn in, *L'Unità* published a list of strikes scheduled for the current month, involving nearly a million workers employed in gas companies, municipal bus companies, the railroads, banks, textile and chemical industries, and the civil service. The announcement made it plain that this was only the beginning, and it must have spoiled what should have been one of the happiest days in Nenni's life.

The aging Socialist leader has staked his whole career on the success of Moro's government. At seventy-two, he does not have the time to wait for better days, or better terms, or better partners in yet another center-left cabinet, as the younger Lombardi does. Nor has he the power to hold his working-class followers on a tight rein, as Togliatti does. After collaborating closely with the Communists, the Socialist workers are so bound up in the rituals of class solidarity that Nenni has not yet dared propose their detachment from the Communist-controlled labor federation, the CGIL. In fact, he has denied vigorously that he would ever dream of doing so. Not only do the Socialists still play an organic though subordinate part in the CGIL (which represents fifty-four per cent of organized labor here), but whatever limited power they have there is largely in the hands of the Socialist extremists: two-thirds of the Socialist officials in the CGIL belong either to the party's remaining pro-Communist minority or the new Proletarian Unity Party.

Now that he has solemnly committed the Socialists to an austerity program including a strict curb on wages, Nenni is at Togliatti's mercy. He cannot expect to get off lightly under the best of circumstances: with inflation eating ravenously into their pay checks, the Italian workers are spoiling for a fight. He can only hope that the Communist Party will do what at present it seems inclined to do: turn the workers loose sufficiently to make life miserable but not impossible for the Socialists in Moro's cabinet.

SO LONG AS Togliatti sees a chance of stiffening the Socialists' position in the cabinet, that isn't a forlorn hope. While the Communist Party would unquestionably benefit from a chaotic inflationary situation at home, it is much more interested in deflecting Italian foreign policy. Togliatti would have no qualms about keeping the CGIL in check if, in turn, the Socialist cabinet ministers were to keep Saragat sufficiently in check to make Italy a passive, if not subversive, partner in the Atlantic Alliance. On the other hand, Togliatti wouldn't have any qualms about bringing this government down, either—as he could probably do with a really massive labor offensive—if the incumbent Socialist ministers should prove unequal to this task, or if he could count on replacing them with tougher Socialists in a more responsive center-left cabinet. However safe the democrats may feel in Moro's government, they cannot afford to forget for long that survival depends essentially on Communist sufferance.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Willy Brandt's Third Germany

GEORGE BAILEY

BERLIN

THERE IS a growing conviction here that the Christmas-pass agreement negotiated between the West Berlin senate and the East German Communist government may prove a major turning point in the Berlin crisis. It should be noted that the offer to issue Christmas passes published on December 5 by the East German régime was not a new one, and that the changed West Berlin attitudes had been foreshadowed as long ago as last summer. The Communists had made the pass offer by letter, announcements, and word of mouth in private meetings in December, 1961, and again in December, 1962. These offers were severally rejected by the Federal Republic, the allied commandants in Berlin, and the West Berlin senate. Heretofore, that body had refused to accept the establishment of East German pass offices on West Berlin territory or to negotiate with the government of the German Democratic Republic. In the negotiations that produced the pass agreement of last year, however, both previously rejected conditions were accepted by the West Berlin senate. One of the new factors in the Berlin situation, then, is the attitude of the senate. To a lesser but still significant extent, this also holds true of the attitude of West Berliners and of the West Germans.

From the West Berliners' side, the most important sign of change was probably a speech delivered by West Berlin press chief Egon Bahr on July 15, 1963, in Tutzing, West Germany. This speech, which was translated, printed, and handed out by the American mission in Berlin, provided at least a partial explanation for the senate's actions, five months in advance of the event. The title of the speech, "Change Through Closer Relations," has since become a byword in Germany. It represents Bahr's and Willy Brandt's adaptation to the German problem of their conception of the New Frontier strategy of peace. The speech, and much else in Brandt's present thinking, is a direct result of President Kennedy's speech at the American University the preceding month.

'The Most Brutal Form'

Bahr defined the American strategy "by the formula that Communist rule should not be removed but reformed." Later, Bahr added: "If it is correct, as Kennedy said, that the interests of the other side, too, have to be recognized and taken into consideration, then it is certainly impossible for the Soviet Union to have the Zone [East Germany] snatched away for the purpose of strengthening the western potential. The Zone, with the consent of the Soviet Union, has to be transformed. If we could get that far, we would have advanced a great step toward reunification."

Of course, Bahr had to guard against the charge that this policy would involve the recognition of the East German régime. He did so in an interesting and revealing way: "The minister of the interior of the German Democratic Republic, on August 13, 1961, forbade the allies stationed in Berlin to make further use of their right of entering the eastern sector . . . by all means of access, and confined them to the one crossing point at today's Checkpoint Charlie. When the allies heeded this instruction, no one contended that this was a recognition of the German Democratic Republic."

FOR good measure, Bahr mentioned one of the sorest points in the Berliners' attitude towards the allies. "If today a refugee swims across the Spree," he continued at Tutzing, "and is being shot at, or if a bus is caught in the slalom system and the people are being shot at, then crimes are being committed—or aren't they? But our police must not shoot back or do anything to prevent these crimes. And no one has dared say until now that this is the most brutal form of recognition." This bitter statement is not strictly true, but it is true enough. The West Berlin police guarding the borders are under orders to provide covering fire for escaping refugees only if East German fire is striking West Berlin territory and endangering life there. Before the necessary conditions can be determined, it is too often too late.

At this point Brandt was faced with the choice of siding with the commandants against the Berliners or siding with the Berliners against the commandants. But the preparation for Brandt's change in attitude came gradually over the years and was derived mainly from his steadily increasing stature as a politician of world repute as well as from his growing disillusionment with the allies in Berlin. A high American authority once pointed out the anomaly of having a governing mayor of Berlin who was likewise a candidate for chancellor and a leader of a major political party, a man who toured the world and was received by heads of state everywhere only to return to Berlin to sit at the foot of a conference table and be called to account by three major generals.

For a year, Brandt and the senate, operating in a coalition of the Social Democratic Party and the like-minded Free Democratic Party, have taken matters more and more into their own hands. They have sharply reduced consultation between the senate and the allied commandants and, for that matter,

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

between the senate and the Federal Republic's representative in Berlin, Felix von Eckhardt. Or else they have postponed consultation until issues become public and the onus of an eventual veto can be publicly fixed. As Egon Bahr recently stated, "Of course we consult with the allies on all matters—whenever we consider that matters are ready for discussion."

Neither the commandants nor the Federal Republic knew in advance what Brandt would do in the final stage of negotiations on the pass issue. Formal designation of the signatories of the protocol was left open until the last minute. The pass arrangement established a number of precedents. For the first time, West Berliners heard their leaders use normal diplomatic language with respect to East Germany. They were introduced to the practice of official contacts with the East German régime by their own senate. They were exposed to the sight of East German officials in uniform in West Berlin.

Nothing Must Interrupt

The new mood of the West Berlin senate and the tendency to deal separately with the East German régime were underlined by an incident that took place at the height of the Yuletide reunion euphoria. Paul Schulz, an eighteen-year-old East German refugee, was shot while climbing the Wall with a companion. He died in a West Berlin hospital six hours later. For Brandt and the senate the murder could not have occurred at a more inopportune time. The senate published a statement to the effect that the shooting of Schulz had turned the Berliners' Christmas joy of family reunion into ashes in their mouths, and it railed against the East German *Schiessbefehl* (the order to shoot). But some West Berliners declared privately that it was inconsistent to denounce the *Schiessbefehl* after the signing of a protocol that explicitly recognized the competence of the East German régime in East Berlin and hence implicitly recognized the right of that régime to maintain the *Schiessbefehl.*

Public resentment over the death of Schulz nevertheless put the senate in an embarrassing and controversial position. The press cornered Brandt's press chief and demanded to know whether the senate had protested the shooting. Bahr replied that Senate Councillor Horst Korber, in one of his regular meetings with East German State Secretary Erich Wendt, had indeed protested the shooting. Bahr added that Wendt had expressed his regret over the incident. A few hours later ADN, the East German news agency, filed a furious denial, saying that Wendt had never expressed his regret but, on the contrary, had "rejected Korber's declaration concerning the provocation at the state border by two border violators."

At this, Bahr corrected his statement. But he also expressed the hope that "this incident will not prejudice further talks concerning the extension of visiting possibili-

ties after January 5, 1964." For internal consumption it was declared in the senate that Brandt and his men "would not allow themselves to be disconcerted by a provocation." The night after Schulz's death a high-ranking Social Democrat expanded privately on the theme at a dinner party: "This unknown hothead and his friend knew what the Wall was, knew the chance they were taking and lost. Why do you expect me and my colleagues to concern ourselves with this youngster when such important things on such a high level are at stake?"

What is at stake, of course, is Brandt's bid for all-German prominence. At first when Brandt had turned the tables on the commandants and the Federal Republic's representative, he seemed surprised to discover that everything resting on the tables had changed position too. For example, most of the West Berlin and West German press was initially more or less critical of the agreement and Brandt's role in reaching it. Brandt showed extreme sensitivity to criticism from any quarter. When Ernst Lemmer, a former minister of all-German affairs in the Adenauer government, rose in the Berlin parliament to point out the dangers in the agreement, Brandt replied hotly that anybody who didn't support the agreement didn't understand the Berliners. When another former minister of all-German affairs, Rainer Barzel, made the bitter remark in Bonn that "The Berliners took security from the allies, money from the Federal Republic, and passes from the Communists," Brandt lashed back with: "We could not get passes to go to East Berlin from the allies or from the Federal Republic."

Though Brandt flatly denied press charges that he had bypassed the western commandants in making the agreement with the Communists, the simple fact is that the commandants are no longer a match for Brandt. Indeed, Brandt's political control of West Berlin makes it difficult for even the West German government to oppose him effectively—particularly under conditions of relaxation of tensions. In tribute to this fact West German spokesmen have confined themselves—publicly—to warnings: "We are on an extremely dangerous path" (von Eckhardt); "Humanitarian considerations must not be allowed to conflict with policy" (Special Tasks Minister Krone); "The government will not go one step further" (Chancellor Ludwig Erhard).

Thus the Christmas pass agreement brought into sharp focus a fateful duality in the German problem that is symbolized in the polarization of the two cities of Bonn and Berlin. They are opposite poles in many ways: Bonn the small town in the Catholic Rhineland, Berlin still the only truly big city in Germany and the product of Prussian Protestantism; Bonn the unassailable citadel of Christian Democracy, Berlin the equally unassailable bastion of Social Democracy; Bonn the residence of the chancellor of West Ger-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many, Berlin the residence of the governing mayor who, because of the duality, always has been and is now more than ever a kind of anti-chancellor.

It is in this context that the significance of the Wall for German domestic politics is best appreciated. The Wall effectively separated East Berlin from West Berlin and incorporated it into East Germany, thus destroying the four-power status of the city as a whole. However, some remnants of the four-power status (the Spandau Prison for war criminals and the Air Safety Center) are situated within West Berlin territory. The Soviet ambassador to East Germany, Petr Abrasimov, styles himself "High Commissioner for residual four-power functions in West Berlin" and will discuss with the allies only such matters as pertain to West Berlin. Thus the Soviets have deliberately kept the four-power status alive in order to apply it exclusively to West Berlin.

Political Dynamism?

On the domestic scene, the Wall has wrought havoc. Konrad Adenauer's reaction to the Wall (determined in good part by ambiguous allied reaction) cost the Christian Democrats their absolute majority in Bonn and forced a coalition with the volatile Free Democratic Party. It also brought to power, within the Christian Democratic Party, advocates of a form of flexibility that differed from Brandt's only on the issues where it should be exercised.

In Berlin, meanwhile, Brandt successfully appealed to the voters to turn out Deputy Mayor Franz Amrehn, a Christian Democratic leader, and took the Berlin Social Democrats into a new coalition with the Free Democrats. Thus the Free Democratic Party was put in a pivotal position as junior partner in both coalitions—with the Social Democrats in Berlin and with the Christian Democrats and Christian Socialists in Bonn. In order to ensure its pivotal position, the Free Democratic Party demanded that its leader, Erich Mende, be given a major political ministry in addition to the vice-chancellorship in the Erhard cabinet formed last fall, specifically either that of the interior or that of all-German affairs.

Franz Josef Strauss's Christian Socialist Union refused to give up the interior ministry (as the Free Democrats knew it would). As the minister of all-German affairs, Mende now has one foot in Berlin and the other in Bonn and provides an all-important link between the two coalitions to the benefit of the senior Social Democratic partner in Berlin and to the detriment of the senior Christian Democratic partner in Bonn. Thus Mende was able to bypass the Federal Republic's plenipotentiary in Berlin, von Eckhardt, and himself act as liaison between Brandt and Ludwig Erhard. If Brandt did in fact receive full approval for the pass agreement from Erhard, it was secured for him by Mende. It was Mende who began persuading Erhard as early as last summer that an approach to East Germany was desirable. It was Mende who prepared the German public at large for such an initiative when, as his first act as minister of all-German affairs, he offered long-term credits to the East German régime, not for specific concessions but for "an improvement in atmosphere." It was Mende, finally, who urged Erhard, in a midnight session aboard a train carrying the chancellor to the state funeral of former President Theodor Heuss, to let Brandt go ahead with the Christmas-pass negotiations and not to insist that the negotiations be conducted by the West German economic representative in Berlin. Mende also managed to sweep aside objections to the pass agreement registered by the foreign ministry.

In this policy, Mende has been consistent with the traditions of his party. The Free Democratic Party has always preached official contacts and practiced private meetings with East German officials. It always has stressed unification over the alliance. Many of its leaders are still prepared to loosen NATO ties to achieve national goals. On January 4, at a traditional party meeting, the party's grand old man, Reinhold Maier, recommended to the leaders of the Federal Republic that "they climb down from their government high horses." The Federal Republic, he said, was a state that neither touched the hearts of the people nor reached across to the Germans on the other side of the Wall and the barbed wire. "It hardly offers a German fatherland." At the same meeting, Erich Mende praised the Christmas-pass agreement as "the first act of reunion as a prerequisite of reunification." He added that juridical formalism alone was not a means to meet the political requirements of our time. He closed with a formula typical of his style: "Juridical formalism is no substitute for lack of political dynamism."

The East Germans have not been slow in exploiting this situation. In a speech on January 4, Walter Ulbricht, the Communist boss of East Germany, proposed that (in view of the pass agreement) trade negotiations in the future be conducted separately between East Germany and West Berlin, on the one hand, and East Germany and West Germany of the other.

Thus Erhard, after just three months as chancellor of West Germany, has his hands full. Many of his ministers are in favor of an "active" policy of their own toward the East. The Christian Democrats are torn between opposing Brandt's initiative and trying to outbid him.

Candidate for Chancellor

With the sudden death of Erich Ollenhauer in mid-December, Willy Brandt, as the Social Democratic Party's candidate for chancellor, automatically became acting chairman of the party. He is virtually certain to be elected permanent chairman. He announced on January 6 that he would accept the chairmanship only on condition that he be allowed to retain the office of mayor of Berlin until such time as he acquired an office in Bonn in which he could do still more for all-German matters in Berlin. This statement reveals his strategy. Because Berlin is the fulcrum of leverage in all-German affairs, for Brandt the way to Bonn lies more than ever through Berlin.

It is a symptom of the confusion into which German politics has been thrown that not all Social Democratic leaders agree with Brandt's strategy. In a radio address on January 8, Fritz Erler, the party's vice-chairman and leader of the Bonn parliamentary group, warned against the attempts of the East German Communists to convert technical discussions into political negotiations (the East

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Berlin press has already dubbed the Christmas protocol "the Berlin Treaty") as a means of applying the "three German states" theory. Berlin, said Erler, would have to remain under the protection of the western powers and in indissoluble union with the Federal Republic. Otherwise, it too would one day disappear behind the Wall. This is language heretofore used by the Christian Democrats and is indicative of the sudden reversal of roles between the Bonn Socialists and the Berlin Socialists.

Another strategy was revealed by Ulbricht, who means to exploit this confusion for his own ends. In his speech appraising the pass agreement on January 4, he said: "The governing mayor of West Berlin has obviously said to himself: 'The Social Democratic Party can win in the elections of 1965 only if it goes in for negotiations and is prepared to achieve a concrete result thereby.' Herr Erhard has not protested against the result of the negotiations [the pass agreement] because he understood equally well that anyone coming out against negotiations and against such a policy of appeasement would not do well in the 1965 elections." Ulbricht went on to direct an appeal to the Social Democrats that was a call for, and partly a recognition of, a German opening to the Left, beginning in West Berlin.

CERTAINLY the sudden eruption of "three German states" talk over Christmas in Washington, London, Warsaw, Bonn, and Berlin was largely inspired by the fact that the West Berlin senate was acting more and more like a third state. But there is a blow in this direction yet to fall. The plan for an international control authority for the access routes to Berlin, which was leaked out in Bonn two years ago, is very likely to be proposed by Washington again. Including East Germany (as the country most affected) in the international control body, as well as West Berlin, the renegotiation of access rights involved the application of the three-states theory. In short, it may well turn out that the man who made the most important decision in Germany in 1963 was not Konrad Adenauer or Ludwig Erhard but Willy Brandt.

Communist China's 'Opening to the West'

CHARLES FERDINAND NOTHOMB

"IN ORDER to understand China," said Chou En-lai, "you must keep in mind that it used to be a colonial country." The Chinese Communist premier had just told the private Belgian business group with which I visited Peking last summer that he would not comment on the Sino-Soviet split during our interview. But it was clear to all of us that his remark about Chinese resentment of imperialistic interference was in fact a very explicit comment on the dispute with Moscow. For everywhere we went it was apparent that the paternalism of the Soviets annoyed the Chinese as much as European domination had in its day.

Press and diplomatic reports tend to emphasize dogmatic truculence as the force that isolates China from the rest of the world, including Moscow. Seen from inside China, however, the desire to break free of the isolation produced by dependence on the Soviets—foreigners, even though Communist foreigners—seems to be bringing about a distinctly undogmatic "opening to the West."

THE DEPARTURE of the Russians was curiously dramatized by the conventional symbols of solidarity that we saw wherever we went. In hotels the signs in Russian still preceded the signs in English; in airports Russian popular songs were being broadcast; in large cities we visitors were still shown the buildings erected to the glory of Sino-Soviet friendship.

Aside from the importation of wheat (mainly from Canada and Australia), China still does the bulk of its business with Russia. But whereas in 1959 the total trade turnover with the Soviet Union amounted to $2 billion, in 1962 the total was only $675 million, and the value of Chinese exports to the Soviet Union was more than twice that of the imports. This balance may show China's eagerness to pay off the Soviets and be free of obligations toward them. The only Communist-bloc country with which trade increased in 1963 was Romania. The Sino-Romanian treaty stipulates a ten per cent increase in trade and is based on China's need for Romanian oil rather than on political motives.

According to the Chinese, 1,390 technical experts were withdrawn after Soviet aid ended in 1960. But other foreigners are replacing them, mainly Europeans and Japanese. Among the Europeans the British predominate (English is replacing Russian in China's universities); British trade delegations arrive in Peking almost weekly. A few British industrialists published a pamphlet that voiced a hope of bringing the trade of the two countries to the $200-million mark by 1968. Current contracts call for delivery of special steels, machinery, and aircraft. In October a $9-million deal was signed for a British synthetic-fertilizer plant, the first complete factory sold to China by Britain. Already one sees as many British as Soviet cars in Canton and other cities. Three British trade fairs, plus fairs or trade missions from France, Italy, and Belgium (unofficial), are projected this year. The Netherlands and Italy are sending in three chemical plants, Italy has sold petroleum-refinery equipment, Austria is dickering for sale of a steel plant, and West Germany does a brisk business in cars and grain—a total trade of about $200 million.

IF BRITAIN has played the most important role in expanding China's economic relations with the West, France has produced the most profound changes in the political sphere. Certainly Premier Chou En-lai had the question of French recognition in view all through his two-months-long African tour this winter. Two more African states, Burundi and the former French colony of Tunisia, agreed to recognize Peking, raising the total to fifteen out of thirty-six. If more of the former French colonies

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

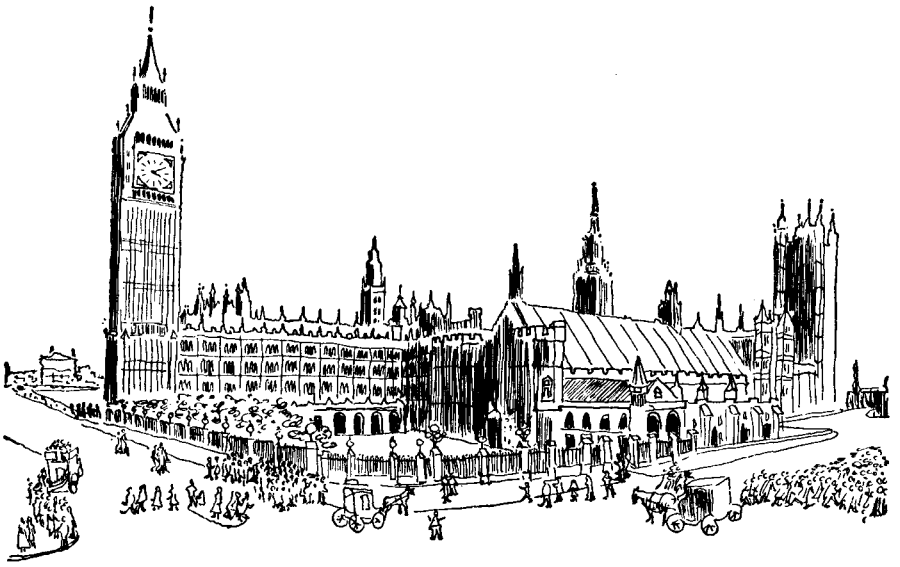
follow, the Chinese Communists' chances of being admitted to the United Nations will certainly improve. Aside from negotiations to import oil from Algeria and phosphates and locally assembled European trucks from Morocco, Chou was also seeking outlets in North Africa for products that China cannot hope to sell on the European market. Such sales would provide French francs for industrial materials that China badly needs. Payment has been the biggest problem in the expansion of China's trade with France; thus, working out ways of earning francs in North Africa is a matter of the greatest importance to Peking.

In Asia, the Japanese government is officially committed to an expansion of trade with Communist China, and in time may be expected to follow the French initiative in recognizing Peking. Last May Japan authorized sales to China on the basis of deferred payment. Several synthetic-textiles plants have already been sold to China, and a commercial fair representing six hundred Japanese companies was held in Peking and Shanghai late in 1963.

Moreover, the acquisition by the Chinese of six British Viscounts plus Pakistani Air Line's new jet flights to Shanghai and Canton will make China more readily accessible to all the businessmen of Asia. The trip from Tokyo to Peking, for example, which used to take three days, will now require only a few hours.

EVEN the weather is facilitating the Chinese determination to be treated no longer like "overgrown children"—as one Russian I met during my trip described them. The 1963 grain crop was good, though not outstanding; the cotton crop was excellent. Thanks to this double success in agriculture, China can reduce hard-currency grain imports and increase textile exports.

The expansion and diversification of foreign trade may not portend any change of heart among the Communist Chinese leaders on questions of Marxist dogma. But then, as Premier Chou indicated quite clearly when I saw him last summer, the desire to be free of foreign domination, even by an ally, runs much deeper than ideological abstractions in China.



Labour's 'Shadow' Diplomacy

GORDON BROOK-SHEPHERD

WITH BRITISH ELECTIONS likely in June or even March, and Labour still a 7-4 odds-on favorite, the party's leaders have only weeks left to complete one of the biggest switches in their hectic postwar history—the change in mental makeup from a splintered party twelve years in opposition to that of a prospective government on the threshold of power. This metamorphosis is nowhere more active than in the field of foreign affairs, which Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home has publicly selected as his main electoral battleground. Britain's Tories have never attempted to co-ordinate foreign policy with other conservative governments as such, and their whole approach to diplomacy has always been pragmatic rather than sentimental. Labour, on the other hand, has been both international and moralist by tradition, seeking out common policies with fellow Socialists abroad and putting ideals at the base of their political pedestal rather than at the top.

I recently spent over two hours with Patrick Gordon Walker, Labour's "shadow" foreign secretary, trying to find out how Labour, as a government, would reconcile these supranational links with Britain's purely national interests, how it would avoid being asphyxiated by the clouds of its own idealism.

Gordon Walker began by stressing that he intended to pursue a foreign policy that would be *British* Socialist, not purely Socialist. I asked him what, in that case, were the common denominators linking Labour's diplomacy with that of its sister parties abroad. He promptly offered three.

"First, there is our joint attitude towards the United Nations. Like all Socialist Parties, Labour intends to be more sympathetic towards it and work for a far greater co-operation with it than has been the case with the Tories. We shall not go in for Sir Alec's 'double standards' talk and we shall no more tolerate a black-white division in the U.N. than in our own Commonwealth.

"Second, there is Communist China. In common with other Socialist Parties, we shall work much harder than the Conservatives for its admission to the U.N. and with less regard, if need be, for American susceptibilities.

"Third, there is our joint Socialist attitude to the North-South division of the world between rich and poor. The Conservatives may have given formal support and some financial support towards the goal of ending this deadly split. But we shall make

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this a burning priority and, as the South includes Latin America, we are quite prepared to clash with the United States over our attitude here.

"In my view, the whole Latin-American policy of Washington is doomed anyway because, for all its earnestness, it is still essentially a colonialist approach without that deep understanding which comes of having once ruled the area, like that which the British enjoy in the India of today. The United States must learn to accept social revolutions in Latin America, non-Communist revolutions of the Nasserite type which, after all, they support in the Middle East. At any rate, we shall back Latin-American movements for freedom and self-government wherever they are."

My mind immediately jumped to British Guiana, which Washington fears might become a Castroite-Communist beachhead of subversion if granted independence under the régime of Cheddi Jagan. For the past two years, both White House and State Department have begged London to remain a colonial power there just a little bit longer. Sir Alec has shown the fullest sympathy. What would Labour do?

"Give it self-government with all the rest as soon as we conveniently could," Gordon Walker replied without a moment's hesitation. "I accept that this might lead us to a head-on clash with American interests, perhaps the biggest clash on issues that our Socialist approach would produce. And, as close friendship with America is vital to Britain, you might say the basic conflict here would be between British national interests, looked at in a technical sense, and a British Socialist philosophy. That would have to be accepted."

He then added something highly significant. "In any case, we just could not consider holding up its independence. Like tackling the North-South division and the other points I have mentioned, you might call these the moral imperatives behind our foreign policy."

By all the general standards Gordon Walker had cited, President Sukarno of Indonesia might seem the prototype of the social revolutionary leader struggling against colonialist reaction who would command Labour's help, however much he might try their patience. But with a cheerful candor, the shadow foreign secretary admitted that this was not the case.

"Sukarno, I grant you, is an exception. Though one might well argue that ideologically we should support him, in practice we would have to oppose him so long as he continues to attack his peaceful neighbor and our good Commonwealth partner, Malaysia. The Commonwealth interests here would be paramount. It's an oversimplification, of course, but one might say that, just as the Tories were the party of Empire, Labour is the party of Commonwealth. Incidentally, this is one of the biggest factors in the arguments that divide us from the other Socialist Parties of Europe."

Commonwealth vs. Europe

Mention of these divisive factors reminded me of a talk I had had a fortnight previously late into the night in Bonn with a prominent German Social Democratic deputy of the rising generation. He had said of his party's link with Labour: "On all the cardinal points of foreign policy we either disagree flatly with them or have a very different emphasis in approach. This goes for disengagement in Central Europe, the Oder-Neisse line, policy towards Ulbricht, the multilateral force, West European unity—the lot."

I now put this drastic verdict to Gordon Walker.

"I don't know about 'the lot,'" he replied. "But quite apart from our well-known differences over nuclear defense, there is certainly disagreement and disappointment among Continental Socialist Parties over Labour's general policy towards Europe. They all regard us, quite frankly, as traitors to their philosophy that, as Socialists, our first priority is to join together in building a united Europe.

"Our reply is that, in Labour's view, Socialist ideals are broader than Europe. They cover the whole world. In Britain's case, they involve particularly the Commonwealth. Our prime duty, we have told them, is to cement these wider ties. We have had many sessions together arguing this and doubtless there will be many more. But there is no sense in pretending that the gap has closed, because it hasn't."

One of the alleged factors behind Labour's reluctance to "go into Europe" has been the feeling that the Europe they were expected to join was a "hostile" Catholic-authoritarian-capitalist bloc. I tried to wrap these apprehensions on both sides of the Channel into one question for Gordon Walker:

"Assuming, which is conceivable, that the Social Democrats won the next election in West Germany; also, which is unlikely, that the moderate Socialists became the majority power in Italy; and further, which is even more unlikely, that the Socialists ousted de Gaulle as French president next year. Just supposing all three fellow Socialist Parties, as governments in power, joined Benelux in inviting a Labour Britain to enter the Common Market, what would the response be?"

The reply was careful, even cautious:

"If Socialist governments came to power all over the Continent, Paris included, our basic problem of reconciling Commonwealth interests with Common Market ones would remain. We would, of course, be ready to examine ways of linking and reconciling the two. But we would not plunge into negotiations even with a totally Socialist Europe until the ground had been cleared and we felt our conditions had been met. A second breakdown between Britain and the Six would be fatal—whoever ruled the Six."

Despite these differences, it was accepted throughout our talk that co-operation in general between

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

governments of a Socialist-led Europe ought to be more intimate than ordinary interstate relations across the ideological divide. This would be particularly true of links between any future Socialist régimes simultaneously in power in Bonn and London. Labour regards the German Social Democrats as being very much its key Continental partners, the Italians being too divided, the French too weak, and the Benelux parties too small.

In a speech last fall, Sir Alec Douglas-Home had attacked these party links of Labour's, whether bilateral or multilateral. In what he called a "sharp reminder to the Socialist Party," he said: "A foreign policy is designed to secure British interests, and not to further the socialist programs of other countries. British relations are with other nations and not with the Socialist Internationale."

I asked if, because of Labour's strong ties with the German Social Democrats, pressure might be exerted on Bonn from London to "upgrade" the East German régime in a new coexistence drive with Russia. Further, could not the solidarity of NATO be eroded ideologically from its northern and southern flanks, as a result of a Labour Britain reflecting in turn the neutralist attitudes of its fellow Socialists in Scandinavia and Italy?

On Germany, Gordon Walker, like everyone else, was a mixture of the emphatic and the vague. "We do not intend to recognize Ulbricht; neither do our Social Democratic friends in Bonn. So the subject wasn't even discussed during our latest talks.

"When the German question has cropped up in our discussions recently, we have rather concentrated on the following problem: What do we offer in the way of a *quid pro quo* if the Russians suddenly offer absolute guarantees over Berlin? Though Labour is not suggesting any step that would lead to the permanent division of Germany, we are inclined to be more flexible than our Bonn colleagues on things like accepting, under certain conditions, the Oder-Neisse line. But even on this one we have still stopped far short of what de Gaulle says out loud, and perhaps even of what Washington is thinking to itself."

He dismissed the danger of a Scandinavian "erosion" of NATO. ("All NATO members are on friendly

terms with Sweden without it doing them any harm, and the other Scandinavian countries are in NATO anyway.")

But, when we began discussing Pietro Nenni's "admission to NATO" via his membership in the Italian government of Aldo Moro, it was immediately clear that the Labour Party had given a lot of anxious thought to this one. Concern here, Gordon Walker admitted, might be considered "legitimate."

"As you know," he went on, "we had long talks with Nenni before encouraging him to join the coalition. We only decided to do this once we had satisfied ourselves, after the most exhaustive questioning, that he was sound in his basic NATO loyalties. Our aim in Italy is a reasonably stable government with a reasonable NATO policy. Assuming nothing happens to upset our beliefs, it seems to me we have helped rather than hindered the Alliance by getting Nenni to join a coalition which supports NATO. I am convinced at any rate that there will be no question of a 'Nenni veto' on the multilateral force, though perhaps he doesn't like it any more than we do. He will, we hope, go along with the Italian government on NATO provided it is not shouted about too much. As for Labour, we want nothing that could weaken NATO and will do all in our power to strengthen it."

I reminded Gordon Walker of his remarks in Washington last November to the effect that Britain should drop the idea of its "special relationship" with the United States and seek instead an equal and unprivileged position with Germany or France in future relations. How, I argued, could you drop something so massive and yet so intangible—an affinity of thought, culture, and habits based on three centuries of common roots and a common tongue?

He accepted this. "I used the phrase in Washington in the technical sense of special privileges under the McMahon Act. These we must bring to an end. But in general I agree there must be and always should be what one might call a 'natural relationship' between Britain and America stemming from the language and so on. This is perhaps a better word than 'special,' and it is what we will try and build on quietly and without fuss. Incidentally, I will be happier about any sort of Anglo-American relationship when I hear it being mentioned more often in Washington instead of always being harped on at the London end."

He did not think the change of leadership in Washington should affect the Anglo-American picture, but he added: "I do think that Kennedy in particular sensed this British problem very keenly and it is as a catalyst that he will be missed, on this front as on so many others."

Realism vs. Moralism

I know Gordon Walker as a transparently sincere man, and if he finds himself eating some of his own words and bending some of his theories later this year, the pressures of office, not any deviousness of his own character, will be responsible.

Yet some reshaping seems inevitable. Those moral attitudes and disputes on which Labour has both nourished and weakened itself through more than a decade of opposition simply cannot be used as the day-to-day guidelines of a govern-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment in power. National interests will bear down remorselessly on ideological ones. In the end, all that is left of the latter may be postures rather than policies. The feudal reactionary sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf, for example, will go on being propped up by a Labour government because their oil (and Malaysian rubber) underpin the strength of the whole sterling area, and with it the present prosperity of Britain. Even the demand for economic sanctions against South Africa, a burning "moral imperative" for many on Labour's left wing, would be hard for a Labour cabinet to balance against the possible threat to Britain's strategic Cape route and the certain damage to Britain's export industries. Indeed, one of Gordon Walker's German Socialist friends put the problem to me thus: "Even a Labour foreign policy must be seventy-five per cent *Staatspolitik*, the unchanging national interest as put forth by your unchanging Whitehall advisers."

If experience does in fact produce a sort of involuntary bilateralism in Labour diplomacy, is there still any cause for concern? I think there is, quite apart from such basic questions as the validity of Labour's Common Market policy. The more immediate danger lies in the prospect of a Labour government being caught off balance in a major crisis precisely because of its cherished "moral imperatives."

The Christmas crisis over Cyprus was an interesting pointer to this. True to its policy of deep faith in the United Nations, Labour favored a U.N. military peace-keeping force from the very start of the fighting. The Tory cabinet, on the other hand, acting with a swift and sure touch that won admiration on both sides of the Atlantic, first restoring order by the legal use of British troops and then helping bring in a U.N. civilian presence as a political lightning conductor. Had a British government lost three or four crucial days after December 24 by groping for salvation through the U.N., Cyprus might well have drowned in blood and the right flank of NATO might have been sundered by a Greco-Turkish conflict. It would have been a stiff price to pay for the pursuit of morality.

VIEWS & REVIEWS

The Artifacts Of Adulation

ALAN LEVY

AT THE HIGH POINT of *Cleopatra*—the intermission—I retreated to the lobby and was confronted by an infinite variety of souvenirs which, like the movie, beggar'd all description. That being the case, I will merely list a few of the *objets d'art* for sale at the concession stand: mosaics of "her," $135 to $350; mosaics of "him," $100; a money clip guarded by a metallic asp; earrings "fit for a queen"; tie-tacks; rings; key chains; pendants; brooches; and "100% Nylon Stretch Cleopatra Headbands, choice of three colors, 59¢."

My curiosity aroused, I visited Twentieth Century-Fox, which produced the movie, and learned that the good name of Cleopatra is in the public domain and thus at the mercy of each theatre owner's whims. It is also widely exploited outside the theatres. "Nobody can be enjoined from using it," a Fox official told me mournfully, "so long as no endorsement from Elizabeth Taylor, Richard Burton, or Rex Harrison is implied. Our film has been either blessed or damned by a large number of Cleopatra products—but in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases, there is no official endorsement."

Still, Fox was keeping tabs on the mushrooming Cleopatra industry. I was handed clippings, press releases, and even samples of the latest in packaged Egyptology, a polyester Cleopatra bath sponge (its serpent handle has emerald-green eyes) that sold at Lord & Taylor for $3; Dutch eyeglasses with "the Cleopatra look"; an Argentinian "Cleopatra Club"; Julius Caesar and Mark Antony haircuts; Cleopatra chess sets; "dimensional stand-up paper dolls" of the principals, each with thirteen authentic costumes; BOAC Cleopatra Tours of Egypt; Trans-Canada Air Lines' New York on a Cleopatra Holiday; and a Cleopatra Teacher's Study Guide.

On my way out, I was given a record of "Love Themes from Cleopatra" and this advice: "The people you ought to look into are the ones who license the official stuff—Mickey Mouse watches, Shari Lewis dolls, Ben Casey tunics. . . ."

The next morning, I began to investigate the burgeoning business of licensed merchandise. "The concept of licensing," one of its elder statesmen informed me, "is that of utilizing something that has acquired a celebrity of its own and then packaging its charismatic potential as something tangible." This was translated by a younger entrepreneur: "It's the art of latching on."

Early in my research, I learned that the standard royalty paid by a manufacturer to a celebrity for use of his, her, or its name is five

per cent of net sales. A cash advance on royalties is usually in order; the range is generally $2,500 to $25,000, although the 1964 World's Fair reportedly was receiving some six-figure advances on tie-in merchandise. In a fertile corner of the vast wasteland, the television networks maintain their own licensing departments. When I asked how much money is paid out annually in licensing royalties, I received estimates from $25 million to $50 million.

"Everything's licensed nowadays," I was told. "The United States government sold Smokey the Bear to Colgate for soap products; that's the

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rage now, toys in the bathtub. Then the fire-prevention people have Sparky the Fire Dog. He's licensed. *Playboy's* in the licensing business and so are *American Heritage* and the Grolier Society. One of these days, even the air you breathe is gonna be licensed."

This kind of enthusiasm pervaded the side streets of Toyland. "Licensing's a great racket! The only ceiling is your own imagination," said an executive sitting at a desk flanked by fifty boxes. In each box was the same game, but with a different celebrity's name on it.

BACK in the pre-Elizabethan days of the original Cleopatra, there may or may not have been a licensed mummifier who advertised "By Appointment to Her Majesty." But fame and fortune seem irretrievably linked. In 1850, Jenny Lind captured America's heart—and purse. The Lind name was soon festooned upon pipes, pianos, cigars, vest buttons, sofas, playing cards, stoves, and whiskeys, not to mention a clipper ship and a racehorse. None of the profits, however, went to the Swedish Nightingale. Theodore Roosevelt's fondness for hunting spawned millions of Teddy bears, but no formal licensing contract can be found in the National Archives. The history of American licensing, then, is generally traced to the early 1930's, when a young man named Kay Kamen persuaded Walt Disney to appoint him guardian of Mickey Mouse's business interests. Within one year, and a depression year at that, the New York headquarters of Kay Kamen, Ltd. (cable address: MICKMOUSE), had licensed some $10 million in Disney tie-ins.

Kamen died in 1949, but his work has endured. By now, there exists an incredibly wide range of Disney Character Merchandise. As my newborn daughter wends her way from Dr. Spock to Dr. Gesell to Dr. Kinsey, she can count on Walt Disney for the continuity in her life; she's in her Disney diaper now. Some day, I'll send her off to school with her Pinocchio pencil box. She'll weather the storms of adolescence, thanks to her Mickey Mouse parasol. When she marries, her trousseau may well include Disney dinnerware and Seven Dwarfs drinking glasses. Perhaps

CUTTING A TENNESSEE WHISKEY TREE is the quickest step of the ancient process we still use to gentle Jack Daniel's.

Good woodsmen can cut a hard maple on high ground in 20 minutes. It takes 3 days to saw it up and properly rick-burn it to charcoal. Then it's packed tightly in vats 10 feet deep, and our whiskey is seeped down through it . . . drop by drop . . . for 10 unhurried days. This is the ancient Charcoal Mellowing process. And the sippin' smooth difference it gives Jack Daniel's is worth every minute it takes.

CHARCOAL MELLOWED
DROP
BY DROP

©1963, Jack Daniel Distillery, Lem Motlow, Prop., Inc.

TENNESSEE WHISKEY • 90 PROOF BY CHOICE
DISTILLED AND BOTTLED BY JACK DANIEL DISTILLERY • LYNCHBURG (POP. 384), TENN.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why You Should Spend $2 to Try

THE Commonweal

for 16 weeks

THE COMMONWEAL is a liberal journal of opinion edited by Catholic laymen and acclaimed by discerning Americans of all faiths. Its voice has been a strong one, protesting religious bigotry in the 20's, the "popular" and "Christian" fronts of the 30's, the dictatorship of Franco, the methods and charges of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

- The Commonweal has fought for racial justice, civil rights, personal freedom and aid to underdeveloped nations. For years it has pressed forward the new spirit of Catholicism that is now beginning to flower under the influence of Popes John and Paul and the Vatican Council.

- Regular writers for the Commonweal include John Cogley on the Catholic scene, William V. Shannon from Washington, Richard Gilman on the theater, Philip T. Hartung on movies, Robert McAfee Brown presenting a Protestant viewpoint. Also James O'Gara, Wilfrid Sheed, Gregory Baum, a vigorous book section and lively foreign reports.

- Recent articles include:

Updike's Innocence, Guerin La Course
Zen Catholicism, Michael D. Zeik
The New Pluralism, Daniel Callahan
Saving the Railroads, Claiborne Pell
Eclipse of the Curia, Gunnar Kumlien
Dr. Rock's Book, Herbert Ratner
The Church in Cuba, Leslie Dewart

Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois says: "I read The Commonweal every week and always benefit from it."

Christopher Dawson: "I think the work you are doing is of outstanding importance."

Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota: "The Commonweal has accepted the responsibility of attempting to pass judgment upon our own times in the light of principles."

Harvey Breit, in the N.Y. *Times:* "The best Catholic weekly in the world."

Return coupon below or a facsimile.
SAVE HALF THE NEWSSTAND PRICE.

16 Issues for $2

THE COMMONWEAL
232 Madison Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

Send me the next 16 issues of The Commonweal at your special half-price trial rate of only $2, as offered to *Reporter* readers.

Name _____

Address _____

City, Zone, State _____

☐ Check here if you enclose $2 with order to obtain 2 extra issues free (18 in all).
☐ I prefer 14 months for $8.

she'll honeymoon at Disneyland.

Disney operations go beyond merchandising. A new Disney movie will be plugged on Disney TV shows. Its personnel will be waxworked at Disneyland. There will be comic books, jingles, toys, carpets, candles, and even mosquito netting. These, in turn, may generate re-releases of the film.

Walt Disney himself hasn't drawn a picture in more than thirty years, but he was no lone ranger on the new frontier of character merchandise. Rivals like Terrytoons moved in with its Mighty Mouse and Dinky Duck paraphernalia. And, as the cult of personality became an American orthodoxy, we paid homage not only to toy animals but also to toy people and institutions. Thus the marketplace has been glutted with Elvis Presley Hound Dog Orange Lipstick, Superman Bubble Gum, and Diners' Club chocolates and board games ("like Monopoly, but with credit cards"). Oversaturation (in Esther Williams swimming pools?) may have caused some of us to lose track of essentials—such as Liberace dish towels and Jayne Mansfield hot-water bottles. Sociologists could write dissertations on why Jackie Robinson baseball gloves and games "bombed," even in Harlem; why Mary Martin dolls sold well when clad in sailor suits but not in dresses; and why Cisco Kid merchandise failed to match sales of similar Roy Rogers and Gene Autry products (one explanation I heard: "Kids can't relate to Spanish cowboys").

HOW MUCH, I wondered, did licensing add to the retail price of Guy Lombardo sneakers and the impending James Bond holster set? Not one red cent, I was told. The cost of licensing was more than offset by the sales volume it generated. One mogul even assured me: "It's the same as trading stamps. They benefit everybody. Nobody pays."

Off the record, I was told that the markup is five to ten per cent—depending upon the high cost of middlemen.

I went to see a middleman known in the trade as F. A. O. Justin. When I entered the office of Ed Justin, merchandising director for Screen Gems cartoons, I was greeted by an electrified Fred Flintstone robot that recited a pre-taped welcome.

Justin himself, only slightly smaller but much more puckish than his robot, nodded and waved me on past his desk. He knew what I had come to see.

On the other side of the office was an entire store. Its plate-glass window identified it as "HONE$T ED JU$TIN'$," but a line had been slashed through the word "honest." Justin explained: "It's just a come-on. We don't sell anything in there. We keep it there for clients to look at. Go on in." He left me alone for half an hour among the licensed artifacts of Yogi Bear, Quick Draw McGraw, Pixie Dixie, Baba Looey, Dom Pixote, the Flintstones, Huckleberry Hound, Augie Doggie, Mush

Mouse, Punkin' Puss, Ricochet Rabbit, and Droop-a-Long Coyote. When I emerged, Justin apologized for the clutter: "There are four thousand individual items in that little store, but we have to be selective because we have more than seventy-five hundred different products. What do you think of it?"

I confessed that words failed me.

"I was in Rio de Janeiro recently with Fred Flintstone," Justin went on, patting his robot. "We put on a little show there. Well, while we were in Rio, there was a bus strike, a dock strike, a trolley strike, a bank strike, and an electrical workers' strike. There was power rationing. The president was requesting the congress to declare a state of siege. There were troops walking the streets with fixed bayonets. And, with all

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that going on, Fred drew fourteen thousand kids to his 'personal appearance.' What do you think of that?"

Duly impressed, I asked Justin what new worlds were left to conquer. He handed me a photo of eight skeptical-looking businessmen.

"See them?" he said. "They're from a toy company. Within a couple of years, every one of them will be a millionaire."

"Them?" I marveled. "How come?"

"They've got the rights to our new television cartoon creation, Magilla Gorilla. They're going to spend thirty million exposing him on television for five years—fifty-two weeks a year! And he'll be worth every cent of it to them."

"Which came first?" I asked him. "The gorilla or the toys?"

"Magilla Gorilla," Justin replied. "But I'll tell you a story. For months, I'd been begging Hanna-Barbera [producers of Screen Gems cartoons] for a baby in *The Flintstones.* Well, finally they broke the news to me—that a little boy was on the way.

"So I'm lunching with a toy manufacturer and he tells me that a little girl would sell a lot better. I come back to the office and tell this to Hanna-Barbera. So the baby becomes a girl—named Pebbles. How's that for the tail wagging the dog?"

THE WORLD'S largest independent licensing agency, Licensing Corporation of America, is on the fortieth floor of the Time-Life Building. The view from the fortieth floor is apparently limitless. Indeed, to L.C.A. the sky isn't the limit.

"I tried to license the astronauts," said Jay Emmett, one of the L.C.A. partners, "but the government frowned on it. They seemed afraid that the Russians would say we spent all that money sending them up there just to make a T-shirt."

Emmett, a dark-haired, open-faced tycoon of thirty-seven, started out a decade ago with two solid properties: Superman and Pat Boone. He now lists more than two dozen clients, ranging from *The Book of Knowledge* to Tiny Thumbelina.

The five per cent royalty is usually split by L.C.A. and the object of licensed adulation. Emmett explained: "When we go to a manufacturer and sell him a license, that's just the beginning of our work. Then we come up with ideas for packaging and production. We meet with chain-store buyers. And we seek a natural affinity between personality and product. You're familiar with Debbie Drake, I trust."

"Donald Duck's cousin?" I guessed.

"No, she's a TV exercise gal. We license Debbie Drake exercise mats, bras, and girdles. That's what I call a natural affinity. But you can't come out with Debbie Drake chocolate malts."

I asked Emmett if he had encountered any disappointments. "I handled Brigitte Bardot's licensing," he replied lugubriously. "Our first contract was with the makers of the 'Lovable' Brassiere for a Brigitte Bardot Bra. They spent a fortune advertising it. Then Bardot gave out an interview and said, 'I never wear bras!' "

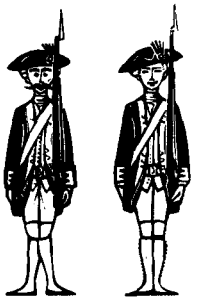
Emmett was still smarting from a more recent setback, a form letter from the Fischer quintuplets' lawyers in Aberdeen, South Dakota. They thanked Emmett for his "interest in business opportunities for the Fischer family," but advised him not to call them; they'd call him.

This is particularly galling to Emmett because others are cashing in already. The Curtis Publishing Company paid an amount "substantially in excess of $50,000" for world radio, television, and magazine rights. Madame Alexander, the "First Lady of Dolldom," has already notified the Fischer quints' attorneys that *she* has the rights to the memorable brand names "Quints," "Quinties," and "Quins." (These date back to 1934, when Madame Alexander was licensed by the Canadian government to make Dionne Quintuplet dolls. She was the only outsider allowed into the Dionnes' nursery.) While the Fischer quints were still in incubators, the Aberdeen Chamber of Commerce was vending Fischer Quint medallions. Girl Scouts peddled "Quint Pins from Quint City"—strings of four pink safety pins and one blue. A South Dakota bar featured quintinis—double martinis with four olives and a pearl onion.

"But now is the time," said Jay Emmett ruefully, "for the quintuplets to get with the baby-food companies."

The Adventures of

RODERICK



RANDOM

Free with membership in

THE FOLIO SOCIETY OF LONDON

The coupon below will bring you an intriguing prospectus about Britain's most distinguished book society.

A limited number of memberships are now available to *American* readers. The prospectus describes in detail more than 70 titles – magnificently bound, beautifully illustrated editions of enduring books, priced most reasonably.

The prospectus also explains how you may obtain *free* the handsome Folio Society edition of Smollett's *Roderick Random.*

This is an edition you'll be sure to treasure. Why not post the coupon now? No obligation, of course.

To: The Folio Society of London
U.S. Office, 59 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y./10003

Please send me without obligation your 1964 Prospectus.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Code____

R-2

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How to Get A Red Hat

ANDREW M. GREELEY

If one is to believe the glad tidings that Otto Preminger brings to aspiring young Roman Catholic clerics, it is not so very difficult to become a cardinal, prince of the Roman Church. One must merely follow a certain number of simple rules:

¶ Arrange to have your seminary rector give you an episcopal ring on the day of your ordination.

¶ Demonstrate that you're an intellectual by writing a book—no other signs are required.

¶ Be firm, frank, and fearless with your bluff old bishop, especially when you know he must have a heart of gold since he talks and acts like a Texas rancher.

¶ Be so pompous in speech and action that you would drive not only your sister and her Jewish lover away from the Church but just about anyone else.

¶ Go on a two-year "leave of absence" while you try to make up your mind whether you have a priestly vocation or an Oedipus complex. During this period see to it that you are tempted by an Austrian student who looks like Romy Schneider. (Originally an Italian countess was more in order, but then Claudia Cardinale isn't always available.)

¶ In all things show good taste; for example, when it finally comes time to tell Miss Schneider that you are a priest, make sure you do it in a baroque monastery church.

¶ It is always helpful if when you don a *zucchetto* and a *ferraiolo* you have a face and hairdo that remind people of Bishop Sheen and shoulders that remind them of Mike Ditka.

¶ When not arranging papal audiences or haranguing Italian curial cardinals about democracy, find time to be whipped by the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia and mobbed by Nazis in Vienna.

¶ Have on hand at all times a "Fourth of July" speech so that when the long-awaited *biglietto* arrives informing you about your elevation to the sacred purple, you can deliver this oration with simple dignity and humility—as the wide-angle lens closes in on your noble brow.

¶ At no time give the slightest hint that you understand anything about the meaning of the priesthood, Catholicism, religion, or even God.

It is of course possible that there are other ways to the red hat, but one would never know it from the three-hour biography of one Stephen Fermoyle that constitutes Hollywood's latest contribution to American religion.

It is necessary to be patient with Preminger and his associates. *The Cardinal* is no worse than most religious movies and Tom Tryon is simply the latest in a long line of papier-maché cinematic clergymen that includes such luminaries as Van Johnson, Bing Crosby, Spencer Tracy, Frank Sinatra, and the late Humphrey Bogart; the fact that he looks far more believable when he waltzes with Romy Schneider at a Viennese ball than when he is being consecrated a bishop makes him no worse than his predecessors, none of whom could have fooled a rectory housekeeper for more than thirty seconds.

After all, Preminger is in business—as was the novelist Henry Morton Robinson. Catholicism is a fascinating subject; indeed, one might almost think it had been designed with Technicolor and wide screen in mind. Gregorian chants, magnificent old churches, the Swiss Guards, colorful costumes, the bells of Rome (great way to begin a movie!), centuries of tradition—just what a scenario writer and a director would dream of. And the Catholic priest is a made-to-order hero; audiences are certain to be fascinated by such things as celibacy, the seal of confession, ancient vestments, the ever-present breviary, deathbed visitations, the adulation of little children, and the strange politics by which some are advanced to high station. It would be expecting far too much to think that a producer would pass up such a golden opportunity—especially since most American Catholics will be persuaded that a movie about a cardinal is somehow or other a tribute to the Church and large numbers of non-Catholics will suspect that they are getting the inside story of how the Church *really* works.

So perhaps the blame for a clerical soap opera like *The Cardinal* must be placed at the doorstep of the American Church. As long as producers are convinced that the only thing that will anger Catholics is obscenity, there is no reason for them to strive for honesty or taste or even plausibility when they turn their cameras on the Church. The men of Hollywood are not being accused of complete cynicism. They probably have persuaded themselves that the Catholicism they depict is the real thing. The crowds that will flock to see *The Cardinal* will not cause them to change their mind.

However, American Catholicism is changing rapidly. An increasing number of educated laity are realizing that a movie is not excused from high artistic standards just because it claims to be about Catholicism. It is possible that in the not too distant future some successor of Preminger will grind out a film that is as unbearably bad as *The Cardinal*—and find the theatres empty. It will be high time.

There is some reason to think that this day may be near at hand. One hears that when *The Cardinal* was shown to American bishops gathered in Rome, a good number of them walked out. Stephen Fermoyle was clearly out of place at the Second Vatican Council.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You get the real EXTRA"

at half

Only $3.50 for one

You get the real "extra" in the n eporter
does not simply print the bare b up the
missing facts to make the story omplex
issues. And of course, as this cop color,
the comedy and the drama of t

You can't fail to get *more* out of
with writers like these:

Max Ascoli
Dean Acheson
Meg Greenfield
Henry A. Kissinger
Edmond Taylor
A. H. Raskin
Roland Gelatt
Claire Sterling
Douglass Cater
Daniel A. Schorr
A. A. Berle, Jr.
George Bailey
Gore Vidal
Alfred Kazin
General Thomas R. Phillips
George Steiner
Robin White
Nat Hentoff
Elaine Kendall
Robert Bendiner
Lois Phillips Hudson

orting

).

o
the
u later.

s soon
eporter
oday!

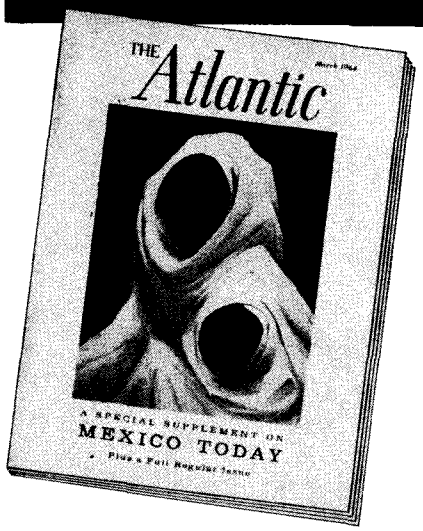
$14

THE REPORTER

660 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Start your Trial Subscription with this Special Supplement Issue



MEXICO is a land of color and contrast, of sunshine and shadow, of thriving cities and primitive villages, of swank coastal resorts and steaming jungles — a land that attracts more than a million visitors every year. Mexico's culture and its people are a mixture of Indian and Spanish, and in its art today there is a feeling of ferment and exuberance. The March Atlantic, featuring a Special Supplement on Mexico, reveals the character and vitality of the Mexican people — gay, friendly, dignified, baffling — through their short stories, poetry, and painting, and articles about their social advances, industrial growth, new art, music and archaeological discoveries.

The Atlantic for March, as for *every* month, brings you the best combination of information, fun, news and entertainment available today. Great writers. Great variety. Great minds. Great ideas. Start your trial subscription to The Atlantic with this important March issue — a full-length, regular Atlantic *plus* this Special Supplement on MEXICO. Enjoy The Atlantic for the next 8 months at a spectacularly low introductory price.

HALF PRICE TRIAL

8 issues—$2.84—half the regular price

(Usual subscription $8.50 a year)

SEND NO MONEY — MAIL COUPON TODAY

THE ATLANTIC, Dept. Z-7
8 Arlington St., Boston, Mass. 02116

Please enter my half-price trial subscription to The ATLANTIC for 8 months, beginning with the Special Supplement Issue on MEXICO. Bill me for only $2.84.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

☐ Remittance Enclosed. ☐ Bill me later.

Courting Customs In the Workers' Paradise

JOHN KOSA

BUDAPEST has always been a sentimental city, its coffeehouses filled with music and half its population talking of love to the other half. One traditional method has been the section in the classified advertisements entitled "Marriage," in which appear blind notices signed with such arresting pseudonyms as "Hopeful," "Willing Worker," "Lonesome." Those presumably shy souls who advertise for a future spouse remain anonymous to the newspaper office and the public at large, but upon presentation of a receipt they are able to pick up the letters that come in bearing their identification words.

A characteristic ad reads as follows: "Respectable, modest divorcee, 35, wishes to meet hard-working, honest, mature man, under 45, who is willing to be loving father of her children. Letters awaited under identification 'Hope.'" Another reads: "Railroad employee, 56, widower, homeowner, desires marriage partner of corresponding age. Letters under identification 'Happiness.'"

No statistics attest to the effectiveness of this public and yet secretive way of matchmaking, but gossip has always credited it with almost miraculous power in reaching the mighty and the rich as well as the humble and the poor. The Emperor Franz Josef of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy is said to have spent his after-lunch rest with the marriage advertisements of a Viennese newspaper. Again, rumor has it that one prime minister of Hungary met his wife through a provincial paper.

Stalin, of course, suppressed this national institution. He objected not to matrimony but to the capitalistic institution of advertising for a mate. A deeply rooted popular custom, however, is not easily abandoned. When the new Communist régime relaxed its proletarian standards, these highly personal messages reappeared in Hungary's newspapers. And in the course of time, these small masterpieces of human expression have once again made their appearance. Every word has acquired a precise meaning, and every shade of human desire has found its ritual expression. Twenty words per entry (at a cost of about three dollars) can describe the desired spouse in most accurate terms, and a whole column of such entries gives a good description of the current criteria of male and female desirability in Hungary.

BUT WHY is it necessary to advertise for a mate? What is the matter with the more intimate forms by which boy meets girl? In theory, no prejudices should exist in the classless society and people should be able to mix freely. In practice, social intercourse is far from free. Unwritten rules govern matchmaking just as firmly in Budapest as in Boston.

The distinction in a Communist country is basically between party members and nonmembers. *Népszabadság*, the official daily of the Hungarian Communist Party, read mainly by party members and fellow travelers, carries few marriage advertisements, seldom more than five in an issue, and these are directed toward a very special segment of the population. They often require that the respondent be "progressive" or "socially conscious." In other words, the prudent comrade takes into marriage another party member or at least someone favorably inclined toward Communism.

But party members are few in number, and so the majority of the citizens can follow their own desires without serious political considerations. They may place their ads in *Magyar Nemzet*, a daily that is popular with citizens of relatively high income and good education. In its

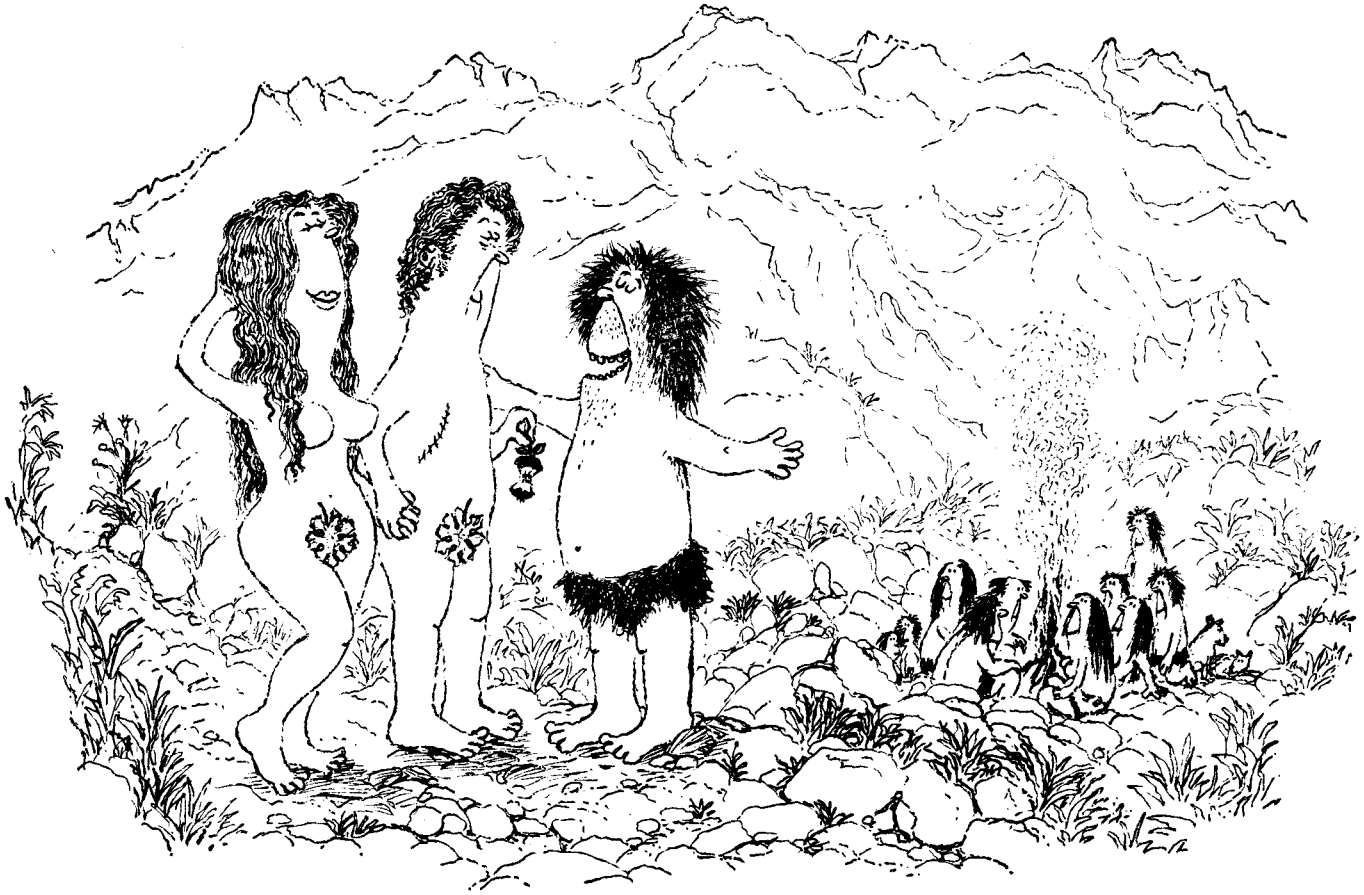
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

numerous marriage ads (ten to twenty of them on an average weekday and twice as many on Sunday), the advertisers ask not for "progressivism" and "social consciousness" but for quite different qualities. One text runs this way: "Two friends, blond and dark, well situated, financially secure, own apartment, car, wish to marry. Will answer letters, with pictures enclosed, of well-situated, mature, good-looking ladies between twenty and thirty. Identification: 'No university graduates.'" Another one goes: "Intellectual, 42, no encumbrances, wishes to meet with intention of marriage compatible, intelligent, honest working girl, thirtyish, without encumbrances. I own real estate, she should own apartment. Identification: 'Snowdrops.'"

In a world where well-situated gentlemen look for well-situated ladies, university graduates tend to insist on university graduates, and white-collar clerks select from among their own kind, social stratification is obviously complex. Even the new intelligentsia is clearly set apart from the old one. A doctor's son moves in different social circles from those of the peasant's son, even though both have the same engineering degree and work in similar positions. Thus, when a "music-loving physician, 30," advertises for a "respectable" girl of similar interests, one may safely conclude that the young doctor is a newcomer in the elite class and hopes to bolster his newly achieved status by marrying into the proper family.

Indeed, nine out of every ten advertisers are concerned with status. In many cases, a few words about occupation and education are sufficient; in others the advertisers do not hesitate to disclose the exact amount of their salaries. Homeownership, naturally, carries the greatest weight; a summer cottage at Lake Balaton puts any bachelor into a highly desirable category. A lesser but still precious distinction is carried in the words "own apartment," meaning the legal lease of a whole apartment not shared with other people.

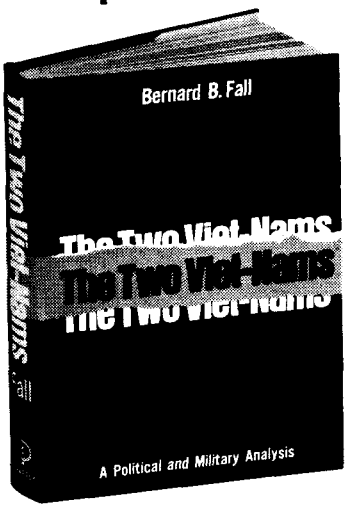
ALL THIS is not to say that the Hungarian has become materialistic or that he has forgotten love. But in love or work he has had to compromise with the realities of the Communist system, with a keenly competitive life, and with a society that is not prosperous enough to give the desired amenities to all. And like anyone else, when he thinks of married life he tends to want a happy conventional marriage that he can enjoy in a secure job, in political peace, and—if possible—in his "own apartment."



First Love by Fernando Krahn

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

2nd large printing... first-hand and up-to-date



"Clearly the most comprehensive and illuminating study yet available in the English language of the total situation in Vietnam."
— HARRY SCHWARTZ, N. Y. Times

ROBERT TRUMBULL, N. Y. Times Book Review: "Should be read by all Americans who are interested in this country's growing stake in the war with the Vietnamese Communists. . . . The uncertain situation following the recent coup d'état gives even greater relevancy to this expert recapitulation of the basic factors behind the headlines."

THE NATION: "Dr. Fall's book is the obvious choice for anyone seeking the relevant background to the dilemma the West now faces in Viet-Nam."

RICHARD STARNES, N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun: "Bernard B. Fall is one of the few authentic experts writing about that fretful part of the world. . . . Clearly the coup that deposed the Ngo family did not take him by surprise."

The Two Viet-Nams

A Political and Military Analysis

by BERNARD B. FALL

$7.95 at your bookstore PRAEGER

BOOKS

The Liberal As Optimist

KENNETH S. LYNN

THE QUEST FOR THE DREAM: THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND HUMAN RELATIONS IN MODERN AMERICA, by John P. Roche. *Macmillan. $5.95.*

As his national chairmanship of Americans for Democratic Action proclaims, John P. Roche is a liberal who takes his politics seriously. If there is anything he cannot abide, it is the contemptuous attitude that so many left-liberal thinkers of the postwar era have adopted toward political involvement and the American democracy in general. These "secret Platonists," as he calls them, who "deplore the refusal of the affluent masses to pay homage to the intelligentsia," and who have "pretty well abandoned the populace to its materialistic revels," have surrendered themselves to an elitist self-pity which he clearly finds distasteful and historically misguided. For the notion that our society is well on its way toward the mindless materialism and the conformist collectivism of *1984* is pure myth, he asserts. Contemporary America is in fact the fairest and the freest society we as a people have ever known.

Now, there are many interesting sides to this bold argument, but surely the most striking aspect is the degree to which Professor Roche's own philosophy is infected by the very elitism he derides. In the cultural demonology that disenchanted liberals of our day have borrowed from the Tory prejudices of H. L. Mencken, the Bible Belt ranks very high, yet the conspicuously undisenchanted chairman of ADA yields to no one in his non-admiration of the village culture, past or present. Sixty or seventy years ago, according to the Rochean interpretation of American history, "a white Protestant country dominated by a rural value system" did its damnedest to narrow rather than to broaden the meaning of American freedom on all levels—economic, legal, and social. That the provincial white Protestant element in our society has continued to be the villain in the civil-rights drama has been demonstrated, Professor Roche believes, many times since then, most vividly perhaps in the anti-Communist hysteria of the 1950's. For here was a "Yahoo offensive" of the most classic sort, a wholesale onslaught on free institutions conducted by "bucolic wild men" who were panicked by the puzzling complexities of modernity and wanted to "turn the clock back." (William Jennings Bryan, that perfect incarnation of the village culture, would undoubtedly be upset to see his gallant fight of seventy years ago to widen the meaning of social justice so cavalierly ignored; one is less sure how Roy Cohn has taken the news that McCarthyism was strictly for the rubes.)

The cities, on the other hand, have been the great seedbed of civil rights. The "urban progressives," we are informed, have been "generally far more 'tolerant,' in the wide sense of that word, than their rural brethren." And as for conservative America, "urban Republicanism" has proved to be an infinitely more enlightened philosophy than its provincial counterpart. Thus the freedom fighters on whom *The Quest for the Dream* pins heroes' medals may be as diverse personalities as Al Smith and Charles Evans Hughes, but except for F.D.R.—whose membership in the Dutchess County squirearchy hardly qualifies him as a small-town type—they have one thing in common: a city background.

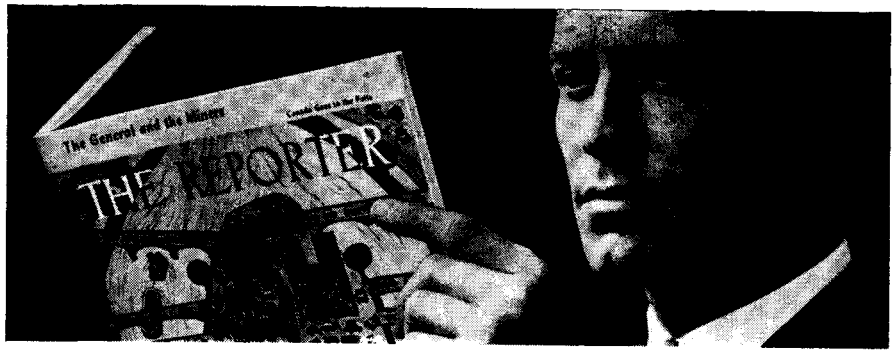
As PROFESSOR ROCHE sees it, this blinding contrast between the moral capacities of provincials and metropolitans is no accident, but proceeds rather out of ineluctable circumstances of environmental dif-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ference. "The city dweller," he explains, "adapted to an impersonal existence, reacts differently to insecurity than does the rural man. He calls the police rather than getting out a length of rope or a barrel of tar. In short, he has what might be called a bureaucratic response—and in a real sense this constitutes a prerequisite of the tradition of due process of law; it is the antithesis of direct action." Out of this fantasy flowers the entire narrative. In the twentieth century, we are reminded, the United States has been transformed from the "great *empty* country" of 1900, in which "an overwhelming proportion of the population lived in small towns or rural areas," into a nation wherein "roughly two-thirds live in . . . great urban complexes." From these facts we rush directly to their concomitant: ". . . the last fifty years have seen the most meaningful development, the greatest breakthroughs, in human freedom in our history."

The basic story is as simple as that, and no messy details are permitted to mar its perfection. How and why a provincial conglomeration of ex-colonials, with the blood of the Revolution scarcely dry on their hands and engaged in the mean job of assaulting a continental wilderness, could have seen fit to pass the first ten amendments to the Constitution is a mystery that is not even alluded to, let alone explained. The effect of their country-boy origins on the radical libertarianism of George Norris, Hugo Black, and other political giants of the New Deal era is similarly passed over in silence, while one searches in vain through 269 pages of text for even one reference to the small-town Texan whose political genius was responsible for the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and who is currently bringing all the powers of the Presidency to bear upon the most sweeping civil-rights legislation in American history.

THE "DREAM" to which the author's title refers is the product of a vastly more complex interaction between Americans and their environment than his primitive city-country dichotomy suggests, and has haunted the national mind for far longer than his book anywhere indicates. In Professor Roche's foreshortened per-



IF YOU READ THE REPORTER

YOU SHOULD OWN...

...the new

MERRIAM-WEBSTER UNABRIDGED

It's the only dictionary that puts you in full command of the new words, new meanings in science, technology, and today's English language in general

In recent years the English language has changed tremendously. Your everyday language. And the language of the arts, science, business, and the professions.

In your position you need to keep up with these changes. And the way to do it — *the only way* — is to get the new Merriam-Webster Unabridged: Webster's Third New International Dictionary.

The first completely new unabridged in 29 years, this new Merriam-Webster puts you in command of 100,000 new words and new meanings — 450,000 entries. It covers every area of human thought, answers more questions about today's English language than any other dictionary.

Today, get the new Merriam-Webster Unabridged at your book, department, or stationery store. It is recognized as the final word authority by the U. S. Government Printing Office, by federal and state courts of law.

To be sure you're right . . . insist on

A Merriam-Webster
REG U S PAT OFF.

FREE BOOKLET — just mail coupon

G. & C. Merriam Co., Dept. 412, Springfield 2, Mass.

I'd like to know more about our changing language and the completely new Merriam-Webster Unabridged. Please send me a free copy of your 12-page booklet, "Hold the English language in your two hands."

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOME STUDY *Courses*

STUDY BY MAIL AT HOME
PROFIT FROM YOUR SPARE TIME

Indiana University offers correspondence study courses in many fields of learning. You can earn credits toward a high school diploma or college degree . . . or advance your cultural or business interests.

WRITE FOR BULLETIN

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
CORRESPONDENCE STUDY BUREAU
Box 109
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

DON'T QUIT SMOKING
before you try my New Kind of pipe

New principle that contradicts every idea you've ever had about pipe smoking. I guarantee it to smoke cool and mild hour after hour, day after day, without rest, without bite, bitterness or sludge. To prove it, I'll let you try a new Carey Pipe. Send name today for my FREE complete trial offer. Write to: **E. A. CAREY, 1920 Sunnyside Ave., Dept. 213B Chicago 40, Ill.**

THE IRON CURTAIN ISN'T SOUNDPROOF

Help to get the truth through the Iron Curtain — by mailing your contribution to:

RADIO FREE EUROPE, BOX 1964, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

Dining is an unforgetable experience at

MONSIGNORE
RESTAURANT
61 East 55th Street, N. Y.
LUNCHEON • COCKTAILS
DINNER • SUPPER
Strolling Violinists
Open Sunday
Res: EL 5-2070

spective, the vision of a society that would live by its highest principles rather than by its lowest passions dates "From the time John Adams braved the Boston mob to serve as defense counsel to the British officer accused of perpetrating the 'Boston Massacre'" and has become a genuine reality only since the 1920's (the decade in which "for the first time the urban population outnumbered the rural"). Yet there were Americans who gave eloquent expression to such a vision long before Adams was even born and who were convinced they had seen its realization, too, as witness William Bradford, in his seventeenth-century *History of Plymouth Plantation:*

"Thus out of small beginnings greater things have been produced by His hand that made all things of nothing, and gives being to all things that are; and, as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone unto many, yea in some sort to our whole nation. . . ."

The scope of *The Quest for the Dream* is further constricted by its legalistic emphasis. In the author's own words, "The key to freedom in a democratic society can never be judicial decisions, Presidential orders, or even statutes." The fundamental force for liberty is, rather, "the commitment of the community to those values which make individual freedom possible." Despite this fine statement, Professor Roche makes only a halfhearted attempt to measure in human terms whether or not the people of the United States in the 1960's are really as free as their laws imply. He is very pleased, for example, that the Second World War occasioned far fewer repressive measures than did the First, but was this because we had become more fair-minded in the intervening years, or was 1917-1918 a more "totalitarian" period than 1941-1945 for the brute reason that there were many more Americans who disapproved of the First World War than of the Second, and who consequently provoked among the majority a greater lust for unanimity?

A similar question might be asked about the surge of libertarian guarantees since the end of the Second World War. Is this phenomenon the result, as the author believes, of the American people's final acceptance of "the full implications of its own democratic principles," or is it simply a luxury we allow ourselves, now that conformist pressures have reduced to a joke the sort of anti-Establishment politics once symbolized by Eugene Debs, the kind of troublesome nay-saying once voiced by Thoreau?

Professor Roche is also sure that the Northern Negro of today has made a real "breakthrough"—and points for proof to the host of new anti-discrimination codes and laws. He speaks of the possibility of full equality in "perhaps another generation." This sanguine view of the race question has unfortunately been purchased at the price of ignoring almost all the long-term trends of Northern Negro life. Is the structure of Negro family life in, say, Chicago, more or less chaotic in 1964 than it was in 1924? Is the illegitimacy rate up or down? Is the incidence of parental desertion increasing or decreasing? Has the quality of schooling received by the urban Negro changed for better or for worse in forty years? Has the sheer physical distance between his ghetto and white residential areas shortened or lengthened? Has his relative economic position improved or worsened? Does he feel freer and more secure than his father did, or more bitter and more frustrated than ever? A book ostensibly concerned with the "development of . . . human relations in modern America" ought to have paid attention to such problems.

THE HISTORY of judicial and legislative formulations is a significant if sometimes a misleading one, and within the framework he has set for himself Professor Roche tells his story well. His comments on the Abrams case, the Gitlow case, and other landmark decisions of the Supreme Court are a marvel of incisive brevity. His analysis of the "virtues of inefficiency," *in re* Franklin Roosevelt, is as illuminating as it is amusing. His discussions of the IWW—the quasi-fabulous "Wobblies"—are brilliant. One can only hope that, after further reflection and research, Roche will have further comments to make on one of the greatest subjects in our history and one of the most troubling aspects of life in our time.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler® No. 95

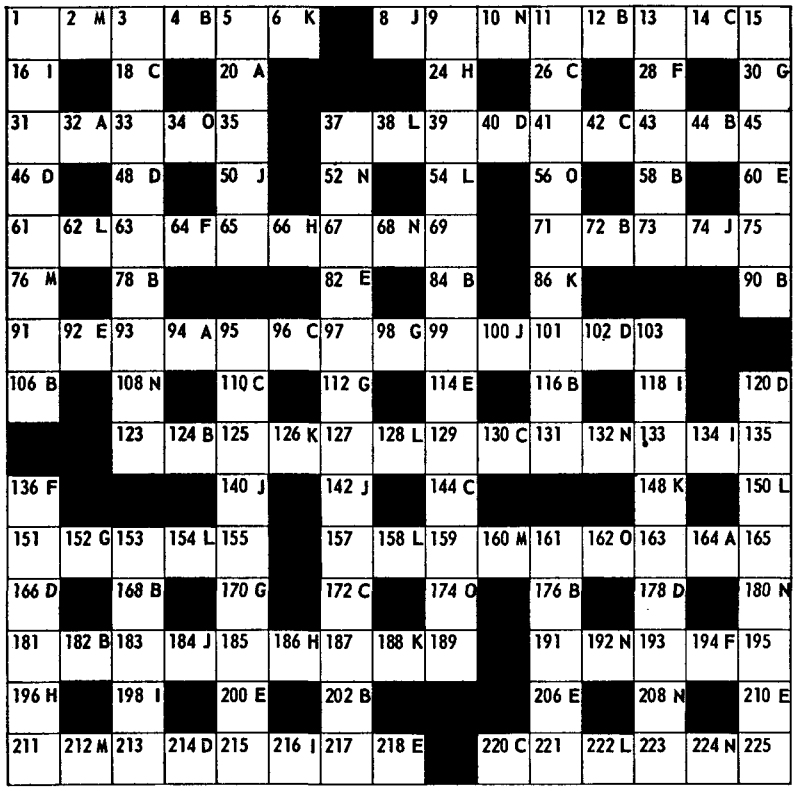
by HENRY ALLEN

©1964 by

the Reporter Magazine Company

DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the Acrostician.



A
20 94 164 32 Name of the lord who employed Crichton in Barrie's play.

B
106 116 90 182 58 84 72 176 168 4 44
12 124 78 202 How a troubadour might report the previous night's activity (6,4,1,4).

C
18 96 14 144 172 26 110 42 220 130 Meeting hall for a certain men's organization (5,5).

D
178 214 40 48 120 166 46 102 "And sit attentive to his own_____." Pope, "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot."

E
114 82 200 218 206 60 92 210 One of Odysseus' girl friends.

F
64 136 28 194 "Eli, Eli,—sabachthani." Matthew.

G
152 170 98 112 30 "Into a _____ large and broad, since called / The Paradise of Fools..." "Milton, Paradise Lost.

H
196 24 66 186 Island in the Mediterranean.

I
16 118 134 198 216 "Not one is demented with the_____ of owning things." Whitman, "Song of Myself."

J
140 8 74 142 100 184 50 Devotions on nine consecutive days.

K
86 126 6 188 148 Author of When We Dead Awaken.

L
38 150 62 128 222 54 158 154. What a snake charmer might do in South America (4,1,3).

M
2 212 76 160 "There is a holy mistaken _____ in politics as well as in religion." Junius, Letter, Dec. 19, 1769.

N
208 52 10 132 224 192 68 180 108 Assemblies of ancient Athens.

O
162 34 56 174 Wife of Cronus and mother of Zeus.

ACROSS

1. Chemical compounds cut down to the size an artist can use.
8. A co-scion may need a particular time.
31. On both sides of a damp hide (prefix).
37. I stump Dan. He's not a bright person (6,3).
61. A little nautical jail or ship? (5,4).
71. A sensitive fiber in the inner vertebrae.
91. Job of the Acrostician (4,9).
123. Underhanded proceeding particular to duplicate bridge? (6,7).
151. Do lambs do this at the table?
157. Economic battle for ward or all? (6,3).
181. If you put a tram on stage, it's a trick.
191. A male wallflower, my buck! (1,4).
211. Did the asp speed through this low mountain route? (4,4).
220. The starer is larger.

DOWN

1. Let a man say as any collector must begin (5,3).
3. I'm set in the ground it seems, and instilled, too.
5. Bible name is ill with ease.
9. All thirteen, low and black, or door action at the lodge? (4,5,4).
11. A Lee of India has a foreign thought (5,4).
13. Is the German ever in primmer circumstances?
15. Particular occasions once in North and South.
37. Naval hat decorations or a breakfast dish? (9,4).
95. What to do with money with a tin cup out (5,2,2).
103. Command to the elements or what they produce? (4,5).
120. Repetitious sort of gelatin (4-4).
136. The sailor used it and misused it, too.
153. It's ghostly with a point on the lake.
161. What a bride wears, it's said, for advantage.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHOOSE ANY 3 for $3.33

(in a one-year trial C.A.S. membership)

To introduce you to the CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS SOCIETY—the book club of the 60s—

You may take your pick of any three of the books listed below for $3.33 (values up to $23.45)—if you agree to buy three additional C.A.S. selections or alternates during the coming year at savings up to 25 per cent off the publisher's price.

Select Any Three

( ) **THE STATESMAN'S YEARBOOK**
Ed. S. H. Steinberg

( ) **THE SENATE ESTABLISHMENT**
By Sen. Joseph S. Clark
(Forword: James MacGregor Burns)

( ) **CHANGE, HOPE AND THE BOMB**
David E. Lilienthal

( ) **THE PSEUDO-ETHIC**
Margaret Halsey

( ) **AMERICA COMES OF MIDDLE AGE**
Murray Kempton

( ) **THE POLITICS OF HOPE**
Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.

( ) **MANDATE FOR CHANGE**
Dwight D. Eisenhower

( ) **CHINA'S POLITICS IN PERSPECTIVE**
Harold S. Quigley

( ) **PARTIES AND POLITICS IN AMERICA**
Clinton Rossiter

( ) **THE UNFINISHED SOCIETY**
Herbert Von Borch

CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS SOCIETY

Sponsors: Walter Lippmann, Dorothy Fosdick, Marquis Childs.

Board of Judges: Richard Rovere, John Sherman Cooper, Roscoe Drummond, A. H. Raskin, Louis Lyons, Jerome B. Wiesner, Ernest K. Lindley; Robert G. Spivack, Chairman.

Send This Coupon Today

CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS SOCIETY
National Press Bldg., Washington 4, D.C.

Please enroll me as a member of C.A.S. and send the books checked above. I agree to purchase three additional C.A.S. selections or alternates during the coming year. I will advise you if I do not wish the monthly selection or prefer some other book or no book at all.

( ) **Payment enclosed (save postage and handling) $3.33**

( ) **Bill me later (postage and handling entra)** R 164

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Not Writ In Water

M. L. ROSENTHAL

JOHN KEATS: THE MAKING OF A POET, by Aileen Ward. *Viking. $7.50.*

JOHN KEATS, by Walter Jackson Bate. *Harvard University Press. $10.*

The need for new biographies of Keats has been apparent for some time. The standard old ones, by Sir Sidney Colvin (1917) and by Amy Lowell (1925), are still valuable and relevant, but there have been important gatherings of new materials by Hyder E. Rollins and other scholars. Moreover, a generation of modern literature and criticism and a special kind of experience has made a great difference. That experience, of sensibility under intensely violent, life-accelerating pressures, daily makes John Keats less an exotic and more and more "one of us." Biography and criticism have in any case come closer to each other, under the influence of our great emphasis on psychological and cultural self-analysis on the one hand and the deeply specific analysis of individual literary works on the other. The result of these developments may be seen in the new books on Keats by Miss Ward and Professor Bate.

Both are absorbing and scholarly accounts of genuine distinction. Miss Ward's is the more immediate and passionately involved, however, and therefore may prove more interesting to the nonspecialist reader. Miss Ward, if this does not sound too literary-gossipy, is in love with her Keats and rather fiercely protective. She resents, even more than Keats himself did, the way Wordsworth condescended to him and Leigh Hunt patronized him. She sees his friend Benjamin Bailey, so important in the poet's intellectual development because of his interest in philosophy, as a weak-spirited, self-seeking man without enough backbone to keep himself from betraying Keats's "secrets" (his Cockney background and apothecary's training) at an awkward moment to John G. Lockhart, the *Blackwood's* reviewer. She scorns Charles Brown, for a long time Keats's close friend and confidant, for deserting him (as she sees it) just when he needed his companionship for the terrible journey to his death in Rome. (Bate tends to be far more tolerant in presenting and interpreting the same facts. One of his favorite adjectives is "kind," and he has a large-minded forbearance in matters of personality, though one notable exception is his contempt for Richard Abbey, the narrow-minded and dishonest guardian who did so much to thwart the Keats children.) She reports and speculates frankly on Keats's erotic thoughts and experiences, with an engagingly feminine air of knowledgeableness about how young men of this or that age feel under this or that circumstance.

I do not mean that Bate is "coldly objective" any more than I mean that Miss Ward is ungenerous. The poignancy of Keats's life and the appeal of his personality—its intensities and anxieties and false emphases quite as much as its nobility and genius that blaze through despite his many ties with the common life—are inescapable. The death of the young father, the young mother's confused, hasty, and disastrous remarriage, her death by tuberculosis and the later deaths of all her sons from the same disease (Keats tended both his mother and his youngest brother Tom while they were dying), the death-haunted, hysterical character of Keats's love for Fanny Brawne—all are calculated to prevent our keeping our emotional distance.

And then, remember that we are talking not simply about a tragically unfortunate family but about an extraordinary figure that catapulted through a spiritual lifetime in its twenty-five-year span. Keats's brooding, often dauntless intelligence had to discover and re-create itself and pass through its necessary stages of growth with dazzling speed so that his one glorious year, his twenty-fourth, the year of the great odes, could come to pass. Bate's treatment is quieter, fuller, more purely scholarly, though written in a flexible style that allows for the suggestion of wise, humanistic perspectives as well as for factual precision. Though I would perhaps quarrel with some

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the readings by both scholars of the tone and thought of particular poems (sometimes the readings are made to express too directly the immediate or developmental background of their composition), the depth and tact of their approach to the poetry justify their purpose, which in each instance is to try to understand the poet's development *as a poet* within the organic circumstances of his life.

THIS PROBLEM has innumerable ramifications. I shall mention just two or three here. One is somewhat theoretical—Bate's emphasis on Keats's discovery of the specific character of modernity as centering in subjectivity. "Modern poets," Keats wrote, "differ from the Elizabethans in this. Each of the moderns like an Elector of Hanover governs his petty state & knows how many straws are swept daily from the Causeways in all his dominions & has a continual itching that all the housewives should have their coppers well scoured: the antients were Emperors of vast Provinces, they had only heard of the remote ones and scarcely cared to visit them." This realization, for a poet so much under the influence of Milton, Spenser, and especially Shakespeare, was difficult to grasp and accept and keep from slipping away, and Keats was inconsistent in staying with it. But his own earlier discovery of the ideal of "negative capability," of empathic receptivity rather than the imposition of set forms and attitudes, was instinctively a move toward this realization, and the great odes center on the question of the relation of the self (in all its inward awareness, which Keats described so ironically in his image of the Hanover Elector) to its own problem of accepting and transcending mortality. Miss Ward, indeed, following similar lines of thought, says much about Keats that suggests the preoccupations and development of his greatest successor of our own age, W. B. Yeats.

Both biographers help us understand the overlapping of Romantic with modern directions. Keats, perhaps just because he was not ridden by didactic ideals like Shelley and because the sense of death's imminence and of the undependability of all that one cherished was so

A piece of the action from Newsweek:

"Triumph in trying"

"So the mystery of the last novel goes on, and only Mary Hemingway, who typed or supervised the typing of all the manuscripts and who collected them all after his death, can advance the solution. Perhaps Hemingway himself would have said that the book's completed existence is less important anyway than the attempt to do it. After all, in his last successful work, Hemingway's Old Man was not truly defeated by the sea, though he failed to land the huge fish. His triumph was in trying."

From a recent Newsweek Books column. A glimpse of how we read these days. Have you read Newsweek lately?

Newsweek

*He Needs Help

The walls of Demetrios' house in the slums of Athens are cracked. Icy winds blow right on his face while he sleeps. His blanket is threadbare. He eats one meal a day—bread dipped in oil.

Demetrios' mother has tuberculosis and is hospitalized. His father, a rag man, earns $13 a month. Demetrios does not pray for a blanket or more food. He prays to grow up quickly so that he can help his parents.

XPEIAZETAI BOHΘEIA*

Love... friendship... hope Through Save the Children Federation, you, your group, your school can bring love, friendship and material benefits to a child like Demetrios. You will receive the photograph and story of the child you help and immediately begin a warm person-to-person relationship through an exchange of letters. Please fill in the coupon below so that a needy child in Greece, Korea, Lebanon, France, Italy, Finland, West Germany or Austria can look at the world with hope again.

Serving Children for 30 Years

SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION

Norwalk, Connecticut

I wish to contribute $150.00 annually to help a ☐ girl ☐ boy in _____ or where the need is greatest ☐. (countries listed above)

Enclosed is my first payment: $12.50 a month ☐

$37.50 a quarter ☐ $75 semi-annually ☐ $150 annually ☐

I cannot sponsor a child; enclosed is contribution of $_____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

Contributions are income tax deductible. RE-2-13-4

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOK OF 15 PARADOXES
in Math and Logic

Here's a wonderful way to sharpen your mind. 15 great paradoxes in math and logic. 2 equals 1; a + b does not equal b + a, the distance between two points inside a square inch is longer than the distance from Earth to Sun! 12 more stumpers, compiled by noted Prof. Aubrey Kempner. Paper bound, over 40 pages, pocket size. Only 25¢—no further obligation, nothing more to buy. To get your copy of "Paradoxes and Common Sense" mail this ad with 25¢ and your name and address TODAY to:
D. Van Nostrand Company, Dept. 1252, 120 Alexander St., Princeton, N. J. (Est. 1848)

Only 25¢

"THE WINDS OF CHANGE are blowing hard in Zanzibar, where whiffs of Cuban cigars and opium pipes mingle strangely with the scent of spices in the fragrant African night. The hated Union Jack had flown for 74 years. Only last December all Zanzibar saluted the Sign of the Clove. It flew for 34 days. And so we say farewell, Sultan, and farewell to Zanzibar, land of mystery, land of change. (Music up and out.)"

For the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, send 25¢ to Dept. P-6, 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N. Y.

Help yourself while you help your country

BUY U. S. SAVINGS BONDS

EUROPE

An unregimented trip stressing individual freedom. Low cost yet covers all the usual plus places other tours miss. Unless the standard tour is a "must" for you, discover this unique tour before you go to Europe.
EUROPE SUMMER TOURS
255 Sequoia, Dept. R—Pasadena, California

SHIPMATES WANTED

To join beautiful sailing yacht for 10 days of barefoot beachcombing thru remote tropic islands. Your share about $185.

WRITE: **CAP'N MIKE**
P.O. BOX 1041-R
MIAMI BEACH, FLA., 33139

powerful in his circumstances, broke through to the issue as soon as he really found his poetic voice and general bearings. "Man is in love and loves what vanishes," as Yeats was to put it. One can but think that if he had lived as long as Wordsworth, or even Coleridge, he would have recapitulated his earlier stages in more leisurely, complexly developed cycles instead of barely having time, as it were, to take note of who he was and whither he was probably going. He could then, because he could have found ways of absorbing into his art those political, religious, and philosophical attitudes which gave him a revolutionary cast in his moment, have marked out the destiny of modern poetry far more richly and emphatically than the elder Romantics did.

HE HAD in a sense, if the thought were not too painfully ironic, everything a man might ask—time to remake himself twice over, a desirable, good, intelligent young woman who loved him truly, loyal friends in the "real" world as well as among fellow artists, and a crowning year in which he came through as a great poet (though without ever quite being sure of that). But it was all too crowded in time, and too saturated in sickness and a self-destructive renunciative tendency at odds with his quite normal manliness and companionability. That is an overstatement; Miss Ward's loving yet incisive study, which makes use of the findings of Erik H. Erikson and other psychoanalysts, says it more precisely and more accurately. And Bate's study, more cautious in what it states and implies, and at the same time humanely understanding and basically centering its attention on the aesthetic bearing of the facts, helps us steer clear of sensationalizing or sentimentalizing the bitter, beautiful story of Keats.

Some readers will tend naturally to be most absorbed in that proud, witty, self-conscious young man who feared women because of his twice-lost mother and his small stature (just over five feet) and who tramped Hampstead Heath and the London streets as the new kind of poet—the one-among-many of the post-Industrial Revolution world. Others will be more interested in the abstract questions first hinted at by Longinus and still not very conclusively answered, of how a man becomes a poet and what the characteristic stages of a poet's career are likely to be. In either case these books enable us to see better than before how inseparably linked these matters are to the poems Keats wrote in the course of discovering the reality of his own sensibility, which so rapidly, with such bold shifts, distinguished itself from that of any of the other poets he had read and who ever influenced him.

A Hungry Man

JAY JACOBS

THE MOST OF A. J. LIEBLING, selected by William Cole. *Simon and Schuster. $5.95.*

Anyone who can write of having in a single sustained assault annihilated several platters of hors d'oeuvres, a casserole of *tripes à la mode de Caen*, and "five or six" beefsteaks with soufflé potatoes *before* ingesting a pheasant ("served on a skinned and lightly toasted loaf of bread in which a trough had been made and filled with a salmi of the bird's insides"), to say nothing of a goat cheese in ashes, a basket of small pears, and an unstipulated number of baked apples, should not be served up in little anchovies of prose skewered on toothpicks by parsimonious editors. Whatever else he may have been—and his talents were manifold—A. J. Liebling was not a sort of high-living Hippocrates who emitted a trail of aphorisms along Eighth Avenue and the Champs-Elysées. Yet here we find

> I have always believed in the therapeutic value of attending horse races. It fills the lungs and empties the mind.

or

> I have always found the New England accent endearing in women. There is a suggestion of primness about it that is as aphrodisiac as a starched gingham dress.

plucked from their contexts like olives from martinis, and presented as though they were the whole story.

Primarily, Liebling was a *journaliste*, not an *écrivain* (the distinction,

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as he surely would have agreed, is less sharp in English), and consequently much of his best stuff, like leg of lamb, is murdered by being warmed over. Such a piece, for example, as "The Colonel Looks on Marathon," a thirteen-year-old deflation of Robert R. McCormick—good as it was when needed—now reads like something from the epoch of *Gammer Gurton's Needle.*

And whatever argument there may be for preserving a journalist's ephemera in book form *once,* there is no more justification for the same publisher's inclusion of selections from a 1962 anthology in this new one than there was for the second Liston-Patterson fight. To ask a customer to buy the same piece of merchandise twice in so short a time is

to do violence to the very spirit of amplitude and generosity that informed every line that Liebling ever wrote. Yet, in *The Most,* we find Simon and Schuster presenting a short piece called "Monsieur Mirande"—which happens to be a truncated version of part of the anthology of Liebling put out by the the same publisher in 1962. That volume, entitled *Between Meals,* wrought considerable havoc, in its turn, on the superb *New Yorker* series "Memoirs of a Feeder in France."

LIEBLING had his faults, of course, but they were the faults of a writer who reacted to life with enormous appetite and was impatient to share whatever he thought or experienced. He rode his hobby horses hard, and his constant—and frequently adventitious—references to prize fighters, horse racing, a few favorite authors in the prime of their obscurity, and, always, gastronomy recur with an almost oppressive regularity in a collection like this. He could mix metaphors and force similes like a third-rate whodunist (his word), and there were times when he was just plain wrong. But even in his conclusion, mercifully excluded from this book, that Floyd Patterson was a pugilist of almost godlike puissance, we may note that when Liebling erred, it was almost always on the side of generosity.

To read or reread these pieces is to discover again that he was one of the very few boxing writers and war correspondents who managed not to be at all brutalized by the inherently brutal affairs they wrote about. There are not many pieces of wartime journalism as civilized as "Westbound Tanker," and few pieces of writing of any kind that have so stunningly summed up the cyclic futility of war as "My dear little Louise." Nor are there many pieces on boxing more urbane and elegant than "Ahab and Nemesis," in which the forces of brute unreason (represented by Rocky Marciano) triumph, to Liebling's patent dismay, over the refinements of art and science (as personified by Archie Moore): "It was a crushing defeat for the higher faculties and a lesson in intellectual humility, but he had made a hell of a fight."

And it may come as something of a surprise to newly converted Liebling buffs to find that he was not only a peerless chronicler of his native New York's demi-monde but could also handle some of the more raffish aspects of the hinterlands with the same wit and incomparable facility. "Tummler," a prohibition-era piece on a night-club promoter, is something Damon Runyon might have written had he been in Liebling's class, while a somewhat later article called "The Mustang Buzzers" evokes the Nevada wild-horse country so effortlessly that it seems not to have been written at all.

Finally, if the book still requires justification, Liebling provides it in the last piece, a typically generous tribute to Harold Ross that manages, in a scant seven pages, to serve as an effective counterbalance for a whole carping volume on the same subject by James Thurber.

In short, even a Liebling distorted, truncated, badly spliced, and chronologically tangled beyond unraveling (when he wrote in his foreword, "The pieces written after 1945 need no gloze," could he have known that his editors wouldn't trouble to date them?) is infinitely better than no Liebling at all—which, alas, is what we'll be getting from now on.

"One of the most stimulating and controversial studies of our economic life to appear in years."
—*New York Times*

THE
Managed
Economy

By MICHAEL D. REAGAN

This evaluation of the American economic world — who really controls it, for what ends, how control can be channeled to serve the country's needs — explodes many myths about competitive private enterprise. Having cleared away the debris, it then proposes some provocative suggestions for institutional reform.

"A carefully formulated reversal of the old saw that government controls have almost emasculated private incentive and free enterprise." — *The Nation*

"An exceptionally intelligent, comprehensive, up-to-date exposition of the sophisticated liberal's answer to the question." — *The Commonweal*

"Should be read by anyone interested in the functioning and inter-relationship of our economic and political systems." — *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

"May be the most lucidly written and logically reasoned study of the American economy at mid-century."
—*Virginia Quarterly Review*

"Interesting and provocative . . . worthwhile to anyone interested in the whole area of political economy." — *Louisville Times*

At all bookstores • $6.00

Oxford University Press
NEW YORK

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Record connoisseurs picked these 5 L.P.'s as their favorites

TAKE THESE OR ANY FIVE ALBUMS PAY ONLY $1.00

plus a small shipping charge

when you become a trial member of the Angel/Capitol Record Club and agree to buy only six albums from the several hundred to be offered you during the next 12 months.

85-71. LAURINDO ALMEIDA. REVERIE FOR SPANISH GUITARS. 11 selections from Ravel, Debussy, Tchaikovsky, Brahms, Chopin, Albeniz, Kreisler. "Almeida plays...with unruffled composure...musically he is warm and expressive." — *Records and Recording.*

02-10. PIAF. 12 ballads in the poignant style of France's greatest torch singer, with Robert Chauvigny's orchestra. Monaural only.

59-49. BARTOK. MUSIC FOR STRINGS, PERCUSSION, CELESTA; **HINDEMITH:** MATHIS DER MALER. Von Karajan and Berlin Philharmonic.

Bartok music for strings percussion and celesta
Hindemith mathis der maler
Herbert von Karajan
berlin philharmonic orchestra

51-95. CALLAS PORTRAYS PUCCINI HEROINES. Favorite arias from Manon Lescaut, Madame Butterfly, Turandot, La Boheme, others. . Monaural only.

50-92. MOZART. 4 HORN CONCERTOS. Flawlessly performed by Dennis Brain with von Karajan conducting. Monaural only.

A Challenge to Your Taste...

There's an interesting story behind the 5 L.P. record albums pictured above. And—in a way—they represent a challenge to you as a music lover...

For these albums are the 5 L.P.'s most frequently selected by serious music lovers who recently joined the Angel/Capitol Record Club.

Do you agree with their choice?

Use the coupon below to choose your own package of any five albums on this page with membership in the Angel/Capitol Record Club, Dept. 2164, Scranton 5, Pennsylvania.

Choose Your Own Package!

85-81. GERSHWIN BY STARLIGHT: Leonard Pennario, pianist; Hollywood Bowl Symphony. *Cuban Overture, Second Rhapsody,* etc.

14-91. FRANK SINATRA. SWINGIN' SESSION! All time favorites. *It All Depends On You, Always, Blue Heaven, Paper Moon,* 8 more gassers.

84-97. LAURINDO ALMEIDA. VILLA-LOBOS MUSIC FOR THE SPANISH GUITAR. Sparkling with the many facets of the famous Brazilian composer.

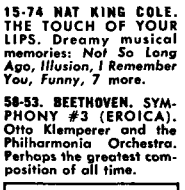
54-76. BEETHOVEN. EMPEROR CONCERTO. Emil Gilels, piano. Leopold Ludwig and Philharmonia. A high mark in this great pianist's career.

16-58. THE KINGSTON TRIO. COLLEGE CONCERT. Live at U.C.L.A. *Little Light, Laredo?, M.T.A., 500 Miles, Oh Miss Mary, Chilly Winds,* others.

85-82. THE INTIMATE BACH. DUETS WITH SPANISH GUITAR, VOL. 2. LAURINDO ALMEIDA. *Fuga, Komm Süsser Tod, Partita in B Flat,* others.

15-74 NAT KING COLE. THE TOUCH OF YOUR LIPS. Dreamy musical memories: *Not So Long Ago, Illusion, I Remember You, Funny,* 7 more.

58-53. BEETHOVEN. SYMPHONY #3 (EROICA). Otto Klemperer and the Philharmonia Orchestra. Perhaps the greatest composition of all time.



72-52A & 72-52B. BACH. THE FOUR SUITES FOR ORCHESTRA. YEHUDI MENUHIN, violin, and the Bath Festival Chamber Orchestra. "Surpasses its competitors...spiritual insight and musical mastery...should be in every library..." —*Gramophone.*

(2-Record set counts as two separate selections.)

59-48. HANDEL: WATER MUSIC SUITE; **MOZART.** EINE KLEINE NACHTMUSIK. Herbert von Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic, Philharmonia Orchestras.

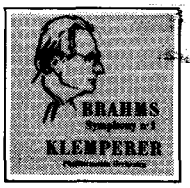
15-20. PEGGY LEE. BASIN STREET EAST. Catch her club performance of *Fever, The Second Time Around, Them There Eyes, Yes, Indeed,* 11 more.

59-71. THE FABULOUS VICTORIA DE LOS ANGELES. 19 songs by a most gifted soprano. Handel, Schubert, Brahms, Granados, folk airs.

56-24. SCHUBERT SONGS. Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau sings 8 charming Schubert songs, from the gay and buoyant to the deeply tragic. Monaural only.

54-11. THE SOVIET ARMY CHORUS AND BAND. 200 thundering male voices sing Russian folk ballads, army songs, and *Tipperary* —in Russian!

56-15. DVORAK. SYMPHONY NO. 5 ("NEW WORLD"); **SMETANA.** THE MOLDAU. Von Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic. "Felicitous." —*Records in Rev.*



54-81. BRAHMS: SYMPHONY #1. Otto Klemperer and the Philharmonia Orchestra. "Noble, purposeful..."— *LP/Stereo Record Guide.*

52-02. BERLIOZ. SYMPHONIE FANTASTIQUE. Von Karajan and the Philharmonia Orchestra in a "powerful performance." Monaural only.

55-27. PROKOFIEV. SYMPHONY #5. Thomas Schippers with Philharmonia Orchestra. "Virile and sensitive."— *LP Stereo Guide.*

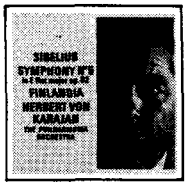
15-69A & 15-69B. JUDY AT CARNEGIE HALL. "Garland at her greatest." *Hi-Fi Stereo Review.* 28 exciting songs from the greatest evening in showbusiness history: *Man That Got Away, Trolley Song, Chicago, San Francisco,* 24 more encores, recorded *live.*

(2-Record set counts as two separate selections.)

57-96. BRAHMS. CONCERTO #2 in B FLAT MAJOR. Richter-Haaser, piano; von Karajan and Berlin Philharmonic.

55-49. STRAVINSKY. THE RITE OF SPRING. Igor Markevitch, Philharmonia Orchestra. "Brilliantly hued; grippingly dynamic."—*LP/Stereo Guide.*

57-39. MOZART. SYMPHONIES #38 in D Major (Prague); #39 in E Flat Major. Von Karajan conducts the Philharmonia Orchestra.



59-22. SIBELIUS. FINLANDIA AND SYMPHONY #5. Von Karajan conducts The Philharmonia Orchestra. "Masterly, rich."—*HiFi Stereo Review.*

36-01A & 36-01B. MARIA CALLAS. LUCIA DI LAMMERMOOR. Performed by The Philharmonia Orchestra and Chorus, Tullio Serafin conducting. Here is Donizetti's famous opera, gloriously sung by one of the world's most gifted sopranos. "Maria Callas' technique is formidable. Fills the role with passion . . " — *LP/Stereo Guide.*

(2-record set counts as two separate selections)

ANGEL / CAPITOL RECORD CLUB
Dept. 2164 Scranton 5, Pennsylvania

Rush me FIVE hit albums I have listed by number in the boxes at left. Bill me only $1.00 ($2.00 for Stereo) plus a small shipping charge.

☐ STEREO ☐ MONO **CHECK ONE (Note: Play Stereo records only on a Stereo record player.)**

Enroll me in the following division under the terms set forth to the right. However, I may select records from any division I wish.

☐ ANGEL / CAPITOL CLASSICS
☐ POPULAR BEST SELLERS

MR.
MRS.
MISS _____ (Please print)

ADDRESS _____ (Please print)

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

NO RISK—SEND NO MONEY! If not delighted with my albums, I can return them within 7 days and all charges will be canceled.

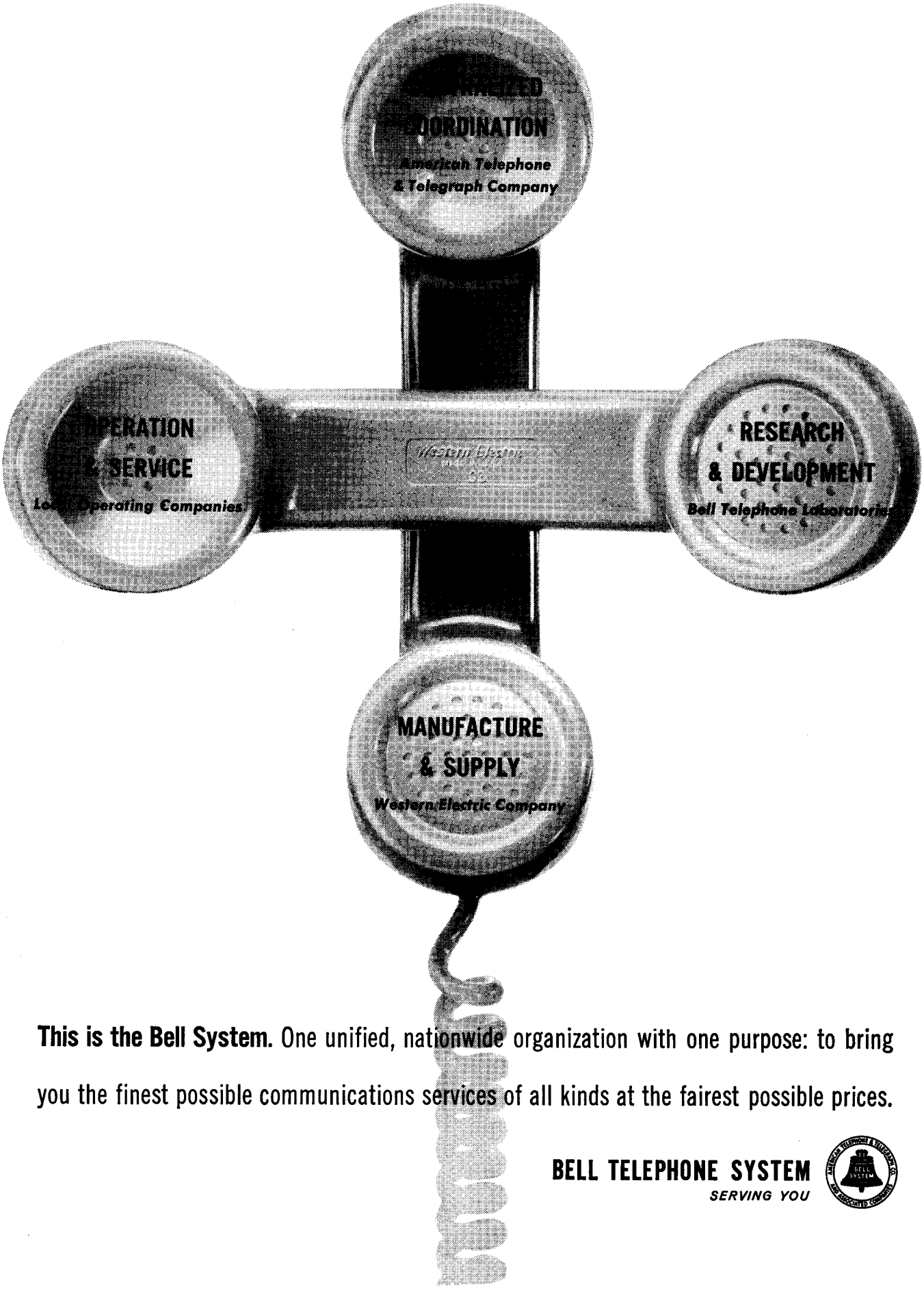
CANADA: Mail to—41 Bertal Rd., Toronto 15, Ontario.

Here's how the Club works

1. Each month you receive "KEYNOTES," the Club's colorful magazine, which describes new selections.
2. From the several hundred Angel and Capitol albums offered in "KEYNOTES" during the next 12 months, you agree to purchase just six albums. Depending on your choice of albums, you pay only the Club price of $3.98 or $4.98, occasionally $5.98 (add $1.00 for stereo) plus a small shipping charge. You can resign any time after that.
3. After you buy these six, you choose a 12" FREE BONUS ALBUM for every two albums you buy.
4. Membership is limited to one per household.

A-47 R-2

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



This is the Bell System. One unified, nationwide organization with one purpose: to bring you the finest possible communications services of all kinds at the fairest possible prices.

BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM
SERVING YOU

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What is YOUR book-reading profile?

Check the books you have failed to read through oversight or overbusyness

THE SELF-PORTRAIT you have drawn may reveal a sobering fact: *the extreme degree* to which you have allowed the irritating busyness of your life to keep you from the books you promise yourself to read. *There is a simple way to break this bad habit,* and many hundreds of thousands of perspicacious readers over the country will vouch that it is effectual: membership in the Book-of-the-Month Club.

YOUR CHOICE IS WIDE • Your only obligation as a member, under the special offer below, *is to buy three books during your first year of membership,* in addition to the three you select now, from at least 200 that will be made available. You may cancel your membership any time after buying three books. Every month the Club's Editorial Board chooses one outstanding work as the Book-of-the-Month, and in addition the Club makes available other widely discussed books as alternates—altogether at least 200 each year. The list at the right is a good example of the wide range of books offered.

YOU BUY WHAT YOU PLEASE As to the Book-of-the-Month, you buy it only when you want it. You receive a full and careful report about it *in advance of its publication.* If you judge it is a book you would enjoy, you let it come. If not, you send back a form (always provided) specifying some other book. Or you may simply write: "Send me nothing."

YOU PAY MUCH LESS • When you do buy the Club Selection, you usually pay less for it than you otherwise would, even though a small charge is added for postage and handling. On the average, the price paid by Book-of-the-Month Club members for Selections is 20% below the retail price. But there is a saving greater than this.

DURING THE TRIAL AND THEREAFTER, IF YOU CONTINUE, you will receive, *with every Club Selection or alternate you buy,* a Book-Dividend Credit Certificate. Each certificate, together with a nominal sum, usually $1.00 or $1.50—occasionally more for an unusually expensive volume—can be redeemed for a valuable Book-Dividend which you may choose from more than 100 fine library volumes which now average more than $7.00 each (retail price). Since the inauguration of the Club's Book-Dividend system, more than $296,000,000 worth of books (retail value) has been received by members through this unique plan.

GOOD SENSE FOR 1964 • Frequently you intend to buy Book-of-the-Month Club Selections, not knowing that they are such. *Why not buy them from the Club* since you will pay 20% less on the average and also share in the library-building advantages of the Club's Book-Dividend plan? Perhaps most important, this whole system, once and for all, *will really keep you from missing the new books you want to read.*

IN AN EXPERIMENTAL SUBSCRIPTION TO THE
BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB

YOU CAN CHOOSE
ANY THREE
OF THE BOOKS LISTED IN THE PROFILE
FOR ONLY $1

IF YOU AGREE TO BUY THREE ADDITIONAL BOOKS WITHIN A YEAR FROM THE CLUB . . . AT THE SPECIAL MEMBERS' PRICES

RECENT BOOKS WIDELY READ AND ENJOYED

- ☐ **465. PROFILES IN COURAGE** *by John F. Kennedy* (RETAIL PRICE $3.95)
- ☐ **467. THE MAKING OF THE PRESIDENT —1960** *by Theodore H. White* (RETAIL PRICE $6.95)
- ☐ **605. PT-109: JOHN F. KENNEDY IN WORLD WAR II** *by Robert Donovan* Illustrated. (RETAIL PRICE $4.95)
- ☐ **584. CARAVANS** *by James A. Michener* (RETAIL PRICE $5.95)
- ☐ **607. THE AMERICAN WAY OF DEATH** *by Jessica Mitford* (RETAIL PRICE $4.95)
- ☐ **597. THE VENETIAN AFFAIR** *by Helen Mac Innes* (RETAIL PRICE $5.95)
- ☐ **601. THE BATTLE OF THE VILLA FIORITA** *by Rumer Godden.* (RETAIL PRICE $5)
- ☐ **596. RASCAL** *by Sterling North* Illustrated. (RETAIL PRICE $3.95)
- ☐ **602. THE EDUCATION OF AMERICAN TEACHERS** *by James B. Conant.* (RETAIL PRICE $5)
- ☐ **604. GEORGE C. MARSHALL: Education of a General, 1880-1939** *by Forrest C. Pogue* (RETAIL PRICE $7.50)
- ☐ **598. THE COLLECTOR** *by John Fowles.* (RETAIL PRICE $4.95)
- ☐ **575. THE TIN DRUM** *by Guenter Grass.* (RETAIL PRICE $6.95)
- ☐ **587. FRANCIS BACON: The Temper of a Man** *by Catherine Drinker Bowen* Illustrated. (RETAIL PRICE $6)
- ☐ **595. THE TORAH: The Five Books of Moses** (RETAIL PRICE $5)
- ☐ **586. TERRIBLE SWIFT SWORD** *by Bruce Catton* Maps. (RETAIL PRICE $7.50)
- ☐ **581. THE LIVING SEA** *by Jacques-Yves Cousteau* with *James Dugan* Illustrated. (RETAIL PRICE $6.50)
- ☐ **585. THE GREAT HUNGER** *by Cecil Woodham-Smith* Illustrated. (RETAIL PRICE $6.95)
- ☐ **553. TRAVELS WITH CHARLEY** *by John Steinbeck* (RETAIL PRICE $4.95)
- ☐ **570. IN THE CLEARING** *by Robert Frost* (RETAIL PRICE $4)
- ☐ **431. THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH** *by William L. Shirer* (RETAIL PRICE $10)
- ☐ **521. MY LIFE IN COURT** *by Louis Nizer* (RETAIL PRICE $5.95)
- ☐ **563. FAIL-SAFE** *by Eugene Burdick* and *Harvey Wheeler* (RETAIL PRICE $4.95)
- ☐ **567. THE SAND PEBBLES** *by Richard McKenna* (RETAIL PRICE $5.95)
- ☐ **547. THE REIVERS** *by William Faulkner* (RETAIL PRICE $4.95)

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, Inc. A157-2-1
345 Hudson Street, New York 14, N. Y.

Please enroll me as a member of the Book-of-the-Month Club and send me the three volumes whose numbers I have indicated in boxes below, billing me $1.00 for all three volumes. I agree to purchase at least three additional monthly Selections—or alternates—during the first year I am a member. Members' prices for these books average 20% less than retail prices. I have the right to cancel my membership any time after buying these three books. During the trial and thereafter, if I continue, I am to receive a Book-Dividend Credit Certificate with every Selection—or alternate—I buy. Each certificate together with a nominal sum can be redeemed for a Book-Dividend which I may choose from a wide variety always available. (A small charge is added to all book shipments to cover postage and mailing expense.)
PLEASE NOTE: Occasionally the Club will offer two or more books together at *a special combined price.* Such purchases are counted as a single book in fulfilling the membership obligation.

Indicate by number in boxes below the three books you want

☐ ☐ ☐

MR. }
MRS. } .....
MISS (Please print plainly)

Address.....

City.....*Zone*.....*State*..... 26

The trademarks BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB *and* BOOK-DIVIDEND *are registered by Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., in the U.S. Patent Office and in Canada.*

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED